



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

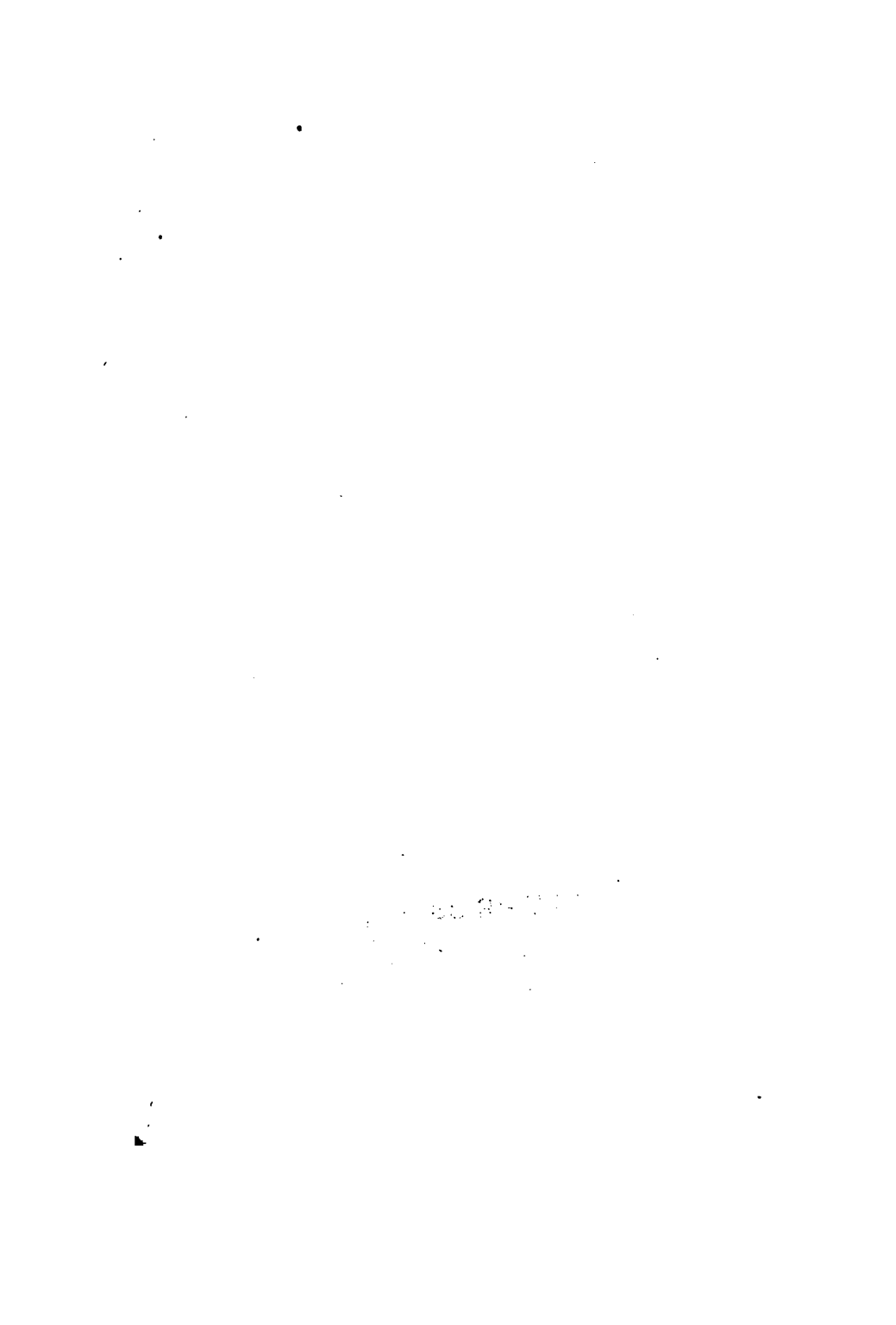
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

THE
GREAT ROMAN ECLIPSE





THE GREAT ROMAN ECLIPSE.

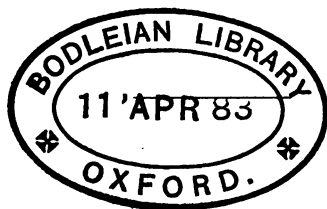


THE
GREAT ROMAN ECLIPSE:

WITH THE VISIONS OF
LOCUSTS AND HORSEMEN.

An Exposition
OF THE
EIGHTH AND NINTH CHAPTERS OF THE APOCALYPSE.

BY THE AUTHOR OF
"THE LITTLE HORN OF THE EAST."



LONDON:
ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1882.

101. i. 604



PREFACE

It is assumed in the following pages that the Fourth of the great world-powers in the book of Daniel—following the Greek, and continuing till the Second Advent—is no other than the Roman. With this for our fulcrum, the next thing is to take the Apocalyptic visions, thoroughly investigate the meaning of their symbols, and then find out whether anything in the world's history so really corresponds to their intimations as clearly to establish a case of prophecy and fulfilment. If this cannot be done, it may then be needful to consider the propriety of giving up the substantial for the ideal, and the definitely historical for some wider class of events, characteristic in a more general way of certain ages or eras. And to some minds there is much satisfaction in this style of interpretation. Not feeling reduced, however, to such a necessity, the other is the method which we profess to follow—as what has been called the “English,” in distinction from the “German.” The only want, indeed, that we can discover in connection with this method, is the want of

thoroughness so often displayed by its adherents in the application of their own principles, and that, in the handling both of symbols and facts. Hence it will be seen that, whilst we accept the general English interpretation of the first four Trumpets, we differ from it in some important particulars, especially in regard to that fundamental point, the *Eclipse* of the Roman Sun, in place of which there is so commonly and unceremoniously substituted the idea of an entire *extinction*. In close connection with this *Eclipse* comes our view—strictly historical, however far from being “English”—of the Fifth and Sixth Trumpets—the one as accompanying, and the other as following, that great event. If the view thus presented be false, and therefore not for the honour of Him whose truth we seek to expound, we can only desire for it the neglect which it merits, in spite of any value which may otherwise attach to the exposition.

We may be allowed to add that we should gladly have made a wider use of important authorities on several of the subjects discussed, but for circumstances which have entirely precluded us from that advantage.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTORY.

	Page
Fourth Kingdom in Daniel	1

* PART I. FIRST FOUR TRUMPETS—SYMBOLS.

CHAP.

I. Preliminary Vision (Rev. viii. 1-5)	15
II. The Trumpets as <i>exhibitions</i> of events	19
III. First Trumpet—Hail and Fire, Trees and Grass	22
IV. Second Trumpet—Burning Mountain, Third Part of Sea, &c.	32
V. Third Trumpet—Star Falling, Waters embittered	41
VI. Fourth Trumpet—Sun, Moon, Stars, Eclipse of	48
VII. General Scope of First Four Trumpets	51

PART II. FULFILMENT.

I. First Trumpet—Gothic irruptions	63
II. Second Trumpet—The Vandals on the Sea	90
III. Third Trumpet—Social and political disorder	97
IV. Fourth Trumpet—Condition of the Roman political Sun	115
V. Fourth Trumpet (<i>continued</i>)—Rome Ecclesiastical	127
VI. — Elements of the New Dominion	132
VII. — Innocent I. (A.D. 402) to 476	145

* The author regrets the inaccuracy of the division into *Parts*; but when this portion was printed, it was not designed to carry the work beyond the *Fourth* Trumpet.

CHAP.	Page
VIII. — From 476 to 590	157
IX. — Gregory I. (590 to 604)	165
X. — Gregory I. (<i>continued</i>)	175
XI. — Gregory's Flattery and Peter-worship	187
XII. — From Gregory to death of Charlemagne (814)	194
XIII. Fourth Trumpet (<i>continued</i>)—The Two Forgeries	208
XIV. — From 814 to Hildebrand (1048)	214
XV. — Hildebrand, 1048-1085	227
XVI. Fifth Trumpet—Symbols	249
XVII. — General reference of	264
XXVIII. — Star Fallen, with darkening of sun and air	268
XIX. — Locusts, with crowns, stings, &c. . . .	282
XX. — Crowns and stings (<i>continued</i>)	290
XXI. — Further historical illustration of same	295
XXII. — Faces of men and Hair of women	303
XXIII. — Misery of Locust period	308
XXIV. — Duration of Locust period	313
XXV. — Immunity of the Sealed	325
XXVI. Sixth Trumpet—Symbols	329
XXVII. — Fulfilment—The Preparation	341
XXVIII. — Innocent III. . . .	348
XXIX. — Remainder of Thirteenth Century	355
XXX. — The Fourteenth Century	366
XXXI. — The Fifteenth Century	372
APPENDIX A.	400
APPENDIX B.	401

INTRODUCTORY.



THE VISIONS OF THE FOURTH KINGDOM IN DANIEL.

It will serve, we believe, several good purposes, if we can get a correct view of some things in those visions, as regards both their bearing and language,

I.

THE TEN-HORNED BEAST.

“After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns.” (Dan. vii. 7.)

That this is the great Roman Power we now assume.

Here, then, we have a vast work done, and observe how. A tremendous beast, of enormous strength, by means of its great iron teeth, and heavy trampling feet, works until it has broken, devoured, and trodden down, the other great world-powers. And this view, we can see, is complete in itself. Then—but at what interval, or by what

process, we are not told—"It had ten horns." That the two conditions belong to different periods might be safely inferred both from their different characters, and from the introduction of the horns consequently upon the work which is represented as already done. "It had ten horns," that is to say, the great beast, which had hitherto worked by the other instruments, came to have ten horns. And that this is the view really designed is certain from the explanation which follows—"The fourth beast shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and shall break it in pieces. *And the ten horns are ten kingdoms that shall arise.*" (vv. 23, 24.) In addition to which there appears, at a subsequent stage, still another horn in the same head, represented to us as a royal power of extraordinary capacity. (vv. 8, 20, 21, 24, 26.) Whatever that horn may do is, of course, the doing, at the same time, of the head in which it lives and moves.

Thus we see that the Fourth Beast, instead of giving way to any other Powers, continues to live and act until the little horn has appeared and done its work; and that is, "Until the judgment shall sit, and the kingdom be given to the saints of the Most High."

And what, meanwhile, have the ten horns been doing? —What, but lend themselves as instruments for the execution of the will of that Beast in whose head they have their seat? What but this can be the meaning of the language, or the lesson of the symbol? * But, mean

* Thus we have it strikingly brought out in the ram and he-goat of *the next chapter*. The ram (Darius) has two horns, Median and Persian,


what it may, there is surely one thing that never can be meant, as has been so strangely assumed. It cannot be meant that, Rome's dominion having come to an end, her territory has been parcelled out among as many barbarian peoples. On the contrary, a beast with ten horns must be in a very lively state; a head thus endowed must be extremely powerful, as having such a profusion of instruments for the execution of its will. And that will has every appearance also of being still a warlike one. For we are not accustomed to think of the horns of a strong beast irrespectively of opposition to be encountered, and obstacles to be cleared away. And such work, by a creature endowed like this beast in Daniel, will surely be gone about in a truly royal style. Ten horns at its command, and each of these a royalty! Such figures need little expounding. It was no new thing, indeed, for Rome to have to do with kingdoms. But, according to her old custom, as soon as they came into her power, they were kingdoms no more. Now there takes place a partnership;

with which it pushes towards west, north, and south, and so powerfully that no beast can stand before him. On the other hand, the Grecian goat, with "a notable horn between his eyes" (Alexander), runs at the ram and crushes him to the ground. Thus we have a distinct view of beasts working by means of horns in their head. What follows (Dan. viii. 8, 9) is different. In the case of the *four horns* which, in course of time, succeeded Alexander, it is still, undoubtedly, the Greek Power that is acting. But the connection with the head is much less close than formerly. Thus, in strict accordance with historical truth, the horns only, as the prominent acting parts, appear; while the head is simply taken for granted.

In Zech. i. 18-21 the horns are nothing more than independent royal powers, no head being hinted at.

Rome supplies the head, and the friendly kingdom is the horn.

How, then, has this marvellous change come about? For the prophetic page, as may have been observed, is strangely silent on the subject. There we find a wide chasm, with kingdoms all prostrate on its one side, and the majestic royal horns on the other. Of bridge across there is no sign. But there is another page that fills up the gap; the book of events tells us all about it. The fact is simply this—Rome that crushed all other powers has been crushed in her turn. The terrible teeth and feet have at last become harmless; limb after limb has dropped off, or been torn away, till nothing remains; and the mistress of the world that made so many captives is herself a captive in Gothic hands. Yes, Rome has fallen; but the hour of the sinking millstone (Rev. xviii. 21) is yet a great way off. The old dominion is gone; the old sovereignty has passed over to the barbarians. But now, strange to tell, those very barbarians shall, in their turn, be conquered by their captive, and own her as their mistress. In the very act of losing the old dominion, the beaten down Rome shall set up a new one; and to that new one shall the barbarians bow. And not only bow—they shall lend themselves as horns, by which the Roman head shall still push on to new victories, and cast down whatever may oppose.

After centuries of preparation, then, the new Roman dominion, was formally set up by Hildebrand, in the eleventh century. Henceforth, a mysterious Power
ding in Rome, and deriving its peculiar influence

solely from that fact—a Power which assumed to itself in the name of Rome, or of one said to have taught and suffered there, an authority which the world had never yet heard of—that Power did now, with all boldness, present itself as a Head strangely demanding, and more strangely obtaining, the co-operation of the various secular powers, as so many horns for the carrying out of its purposes. Rome was now the Sovereign and Judge, with the secular Governments for its ministers and executioners. And such was the spell by which the great Enchantress charmed, that not only the neighbouring Italian states, for their own ends, but great kingdoms, such as France and Spain, and Poland and England, with the very Empire itself—the European states, in short, from Sicily to Sweden, and from Ireland to Hungary—gave themselves up to do the will of that strange Roman power. If this be not a great Beast working by horns, what is it? And if there be not here the realization, in spirit and in letter, of Daniel's vision, then what could be imagined as its counterpart? And how, but through direct divine inspiration, did Daniel ever come to depict, ages beforehand, a state of things thus absolutely unique, and foreign to all human experience or imagination?

Thus, then, does the prophetic paradox find its solution in the extraordinary series of events composing the history of that power which, after losing its unparalleled secular dominion, entered with its old ardour upon a new career, nor rested till it had achieved a spiritual conquest more lasting and marvellous than the one that had passed away.

It was not to be expected indeed, that, with all this flow, there should never be an ebb in the tide of Roman influence. In the days of Brennus and Hannibal, of Alaric, Attila, and Odoacer, the prospect of Roman perpetuity was at times very faint; yet she survived all. Enough, in short, if her peculiar influence shall continue to be felt from its first establishment till its final overthrow. Enough if Rome stand out as a power diverse from all others—making use of those others for its own purposes, as it may be able, and never abating its demand for the subjection of all. And such a position Rome certainly has not renounced, till, at least, the present day.

But now, as to the number of the horns—it is vain, we believe, to think of finding just ten, neither more nor less. Nor can that be the sense intended. Ten must simply mean ‘numerous,’ as it so often does in Scripture.* Still, if a literal ‘ten’ can be shown, let it by all means be done. Only we must have horns, as employed by the Roman head, not simply people settled on Roman soil.

* Thus we find ‘ten times’ in Gen. xxxi. 7, 41; Num. xiv. 22; Job xix. 3; Neh. iv. 12; Dan. i. 20; and ‘ten days’ in Rev. ii. 10; ‘ten men,’ ‘women,’ Zech. viii. 23; Lev. xxvi. 26 (cf. *seven* in vv. 18, 21, 24); Eccles. vii. 19. It will be found also that this use of *ten*, as a round number, does not interfere with the literal use of the same, or of other numerals, in the same book, or even chapter. See Dan. i. 12–17; Neh. v. 14–18; Num. xiv. 33, 34; Gen. xxxi. 23–41; Job i.; ii.; xlii.; Rev. i. 11. Add to this the cases in which *ten* occurs in multiples, as Dan. vii. 10; Rev. v. 11; vii. 4; ix. 16.

II.

THE IRON AND CLAY IN NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S IMAGE.

DANIEL ii.

PASSING from the prophet's own vision to the royal dream, we find a remarkable correspondence between the *head* and *horns* of the one, as compared with the *feet* and *toes* of the other. It is true that the dream gives, by itself, no such indication of any new dominion as the vision did. Still is the view of Rome's last state, as now presented, very different from that of a mere partition of territory among ten tribes of barbarians. For, as the feet crushed at first, so will they till the last; and though now the *toes* have come out as they did not before, still are they simply instruments for the crushing operations of the Fourth Power. Hence it is entirely beside the mark to speak of one foot as representing the Eastern Empire, and the other the Western. It is one Power only, one Rome, that is pictured throughout; and still one even in its last stage, when its individuality has become combined with a tenfold organism.

And now, perhaps we can answer the question—What may be meant by the mixture of clay and iron in the feet and toes of the Image?

(1) It is clear that the *iron*, as in Daniel's own vision, is the genuine Roman element—and that, as still acting in the modern condition and dominion of the Fourth Power.

(2) The clay is a new element, refusing to amalgamate, and leading to weakness.

(3) The combination has taken place thus—"They (the iron people) shall mingle themselves with the seed of men; but they shall not cleave to one another."

Now for the interpreting of all this, it is very natural to point to the union, during the middle ages, of barons and bishops, lords temporal and spiritual, in the same families; or to the intermarriage of Romans and Goths. And such facts are curious enough, in connection with the subject. But they fail to meet the conditions of our problem. For (1) From such unions there did not result any such weakness as that here indicated. (2) What want of amalgamation appears betwixt the parties thus specified, as baron and bishop, bride and bridegroom? (3) Was it forgotten that members of one family would be of one material, whether that were *iron* or *clay*?

Much more natural than any of these modern interpretations is the one given by Jerome when Rome was actually coming down before his eyes—"For, as in the beginning, nothing was stronger and harder than the Roman Empire, so in the end was nothing weaker; since, both in civil wars and against divers nations, we need the help of other barbarous people."* And yet even this will not do; for such alliances were Rome's strength, not her weakness. So low, indeed, had she sunk that, without barbarian help, she could no longer stand. And one of the most remarkable phenomena in history is just this—

* See Gibbon, vol. vi. p. 407. We quote throughout the original edition of the 'Decline and Fall' in 12 vols.

the strength that accrued to Rome by incorporation with so many other nations. In *such* union there had certainly been no weakness. But there comes at last a time, it seems, when the attempt to amalgamate leads to different results. Let us endeavour to understand this. The true Roman element, then, is iron—unmixed, unbending, man-crushing iron—whether under Republic, Empire, or Church. But now, as a circumstance in the ten-toed state,—“They (the genuine Romans) shall mingle themselves with the seed of men.” That is to say, they shall be brought into alliance with something that is *human*, rather than *Roman*—something of the clay kind, in fact, possessing the nature of Adam, rather than of Cæsar; and by this alliance shall come weakness to Rome. So far as such union takes effect, shall the feet and toes lose their crushing power. Under the original Roman sovereignty all was domination, subjection, absorption. Under the new dominion there shall, with all the old spirit, be the necessity of alliance (concordat). And in this there will strikingly appear the want of amalgamation.

What, then, is the true *Roman*, or iron, element now? It is, in a well known word, the ultramontane principle—the true Hildebrandism—Rome first, Rome last, Rome all in all. And what can be the more properly human or clay element? That principle, of course, which respects man *as man*, or as Christian—which allows that he has some rights, and liberties, and duties, with which Rome may not meddle—allows that Rome may be second, may be much, but will not have her to be absolutely first and all. And this is the national, or liberal,

principle. Now Rome has, to a very large extent—during, and long before, these three hundred years—been greatly fettered by this adjunct. That is to say, the Roman Catholic Powers, even from the earliest date, have been much in the habit of claiming certain national and natural privileges. And Rome, in spite of herself, has had to concede the claim.

A remark or two applying equally to the *vision* and the *dream* may perhaps help some minds over certain difficulties.

(1) In regard to the character here ascribed to the *Fourth* Empire. Is it possible, we naturally feel, that this great, crushing, trampling, merciless Power is really the humanizing, law-spreading, world-blessing, Rome of history? Yes, it seems so. The divine eye appears to rest more on the grosser features of the case than we are inclined to do. The reason for this we need not now inquire into. We are content to remark, with a view of meeting the difficulty, that, while the civilizing *proportion* in *Greek* influence was immensely greater than in *Roman*, still the whole view of the Third Power is of a leopard (or panther) with four wings of a fowl. Ferocity and speed—such are the only characteristics ascribed to it—even while giving to the world a new language for the oracles of God.

(2) It is very remarkable how, in vision and dream alike, the prophetic lines, at a certain stage of the Fourth Power, are drawn in, so as quietly to meet the contracted dimensions of this in its final condition. The horns and

toes must refer to the Roman Power—and yet they belong to that only as disjoined from what had long been the half of it. It is character, in short, not dimension, that fixes the Power. The one half is still truly Roman, as the other is not; and that, to the eye of the Prophetic Spirit at least, determines the case. Two things will always go together—Rome, and the demand for universal dominion. Now, strange as it may seem—in the strong city on the Propontis, which had its thousand years of independence before it, this demand was utterly unknown. In the deserted city on the Tiber—sacked already, and to be sacked, and sacked again—the demand continued, nor till this day has it died out. It is a marvel of arrogance that staggers belief, and yet it is the fact. Such is Rome, the head of Daniel's Fourth Beast.

It need not surprise us, then, if we find that a Power which, according to the Old Testament Apocalypse, maintains such a place in the purposes of God, and the history of man, should stand out with a corresponding prominence in the later Apocalypse—given as that was under the actual shadow of the dominion which Daniel had foretold, and given through one whose very presence in Patmos was an embodiment of the iron purpose—not Christ but Cæsar.



Part I.

THE SYMBOLS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PRELIMINARY VISION.

REV. viii. 1-5.

VERSE 1. "When He (the Lamb) opened the seventh seal"—in the development of which would come out what remained of His Apocalypse—"there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour."

Silence in heaven—no speech, no song, no moving wing—but silence! They looked, they listened, they adored, they wondered—as they witnessed the undoing of this Seventh Seal. Such was their interest in the affairs of Earth—earth as the chosen theatre for the Providence and Kingdom of their God!

And this silence was for "about half an hour"—a sufficient time to promote the most lively interest—not so long as to endanger the liveliness. For such is human, and doubtless, angelic nature too—that silence, in the right measure, is a mighty power for the rousing up of spirits.

But, because there was silence in heaven, shall we hold ourselves bound to find silence on earth too? We may—but it must be such a silence as the type was. And

that can be found only when we below learn to harmonize in holy silence, as in pealing song, with those above. To seek in Roman, or any other, history a counterpart to all that we find in heaven is worse than idle.*

Verse 2. "And I saw the seven angels which stood before God." All we say here is this—For 'stood' read 'stand,' and then ponder the view.

"And to them were given seven trumpets." And thus the trumpet tones came from the brightest, grandest, holiest spot in the universe—just from *before God*, where these seven stand.

Verse 3. "And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer." Angel, altar, censer—all of them excellent, but all inadequate to the great result in view. The angel wants his work; the altar is smokeless; and the censer empty. They all call for incense, and they shall have it. For "there was given unto him much incense, that he should put it to the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which is before the throne." Wonderful journey that these prayers had taken! They had already found their way from the lowest earth to the highest heaven, and had settled down on the altar before the very throne of God! And yet there they lie—with power to achieve anything, if only they had wings to rise,

* According to Mr. Elliott, the half-hour's silence "corresponds sufficiently well [for what purpose?] with the state of things in the Roman Empire, from the defeat of Licinius in 324 to Alaric's revolt, and invasion of the Empire in 395." Mr. Faber begins it with the "Edict of Milan in 313, and in 361 Julian put an end to it." Then if this be so, everything means just what everyone will. Hengstenberg takes it as a purely earthly matter—the *silence* denoting the *confusion* of the enemies.

and tell out their burden before the King. The incense will give the wings, and this the angel now supplies in abundance.

Who was this angel? We cannot tell, and we may not speculate. But what the wing-giving incense was is easily told. It could be nothing less than the all-worthy name of the "Priest upon the throne"—the Lamb Himself—Jehovah-Tsidkenu. And now, as this incense goes up, the prayers must needs go with it—"The smoke of the incense ascended with the prayers of the saints, out of the angel's hand, *before God.*"

What the prayers were we can also tell—"Hallowed be Thy name; Thy Kingdom come"; "Father, glorify Thy name"; "Glorify Thy Son"; "Give Him the heathen for His inheritance"; "Make Thy way known upon earth"; "Lord, overturn, overturn, overturn, till He come to whom belongs the right." Such, and such like, were the prayers; and if answered in such a world as this, it must be "by terrible things in righteousness." And so they shall be. For "the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it into the earth"—just like "the man in linen, filling his hand with coals of fire from between the cherubim, and scattering them over the city." (Ezek. x. 2.) *Fire of the altar*; the whole virtue of the Lamb's sacrifice was in that. It is nothing less than that soul-travail of which He must see, and be satisfied. "And there were voices and thunderings and lightnings, and an earthquake." Thus our God hears prayer for His Kingdom. It may be speedily, as when they cried to Him from the inner prison, and "suddenly there was a

great earthquake"; or the time may be long, as when our High Priest Himself prayed, and one element in the answer has been the intervention of these troubled centuries. Thus it is that God works and answers, sets up His kingdom and shows forth His glory—as *He* will, not as *we* would. And let us never forget—there are eyes, besides earthly ones, looking on, and minds besides ours studying God in His doings, while all this is in progress. His glory is in it, and will in due time come out of it. But

"God's glory is a wondrous thing,
Most strange in all its ways,
And of all things least like to that
Which men agree to praise."

Meanwhile, there is for us this great lesson. John in Patmos actually saw this whole spectacle as enacted, part in heaven, part on earth. He saw in heaven what came home to him as a wonderful silence for the short period specified. He saw the seven angels with the trumpets, and the other angel at the altar, and the prayer-mass on the altar, with the incense put to it, and the smoke rising up from it. And he saw the altar-fire cast down to the region whence the prayers had come, and the sequence—or, rather say, the consequence—in the form of tempest and earthquake. And, as he saw, he has told it all—leaving it to us to find out his meaning from his words, and deeply lay it to our hearts.

CHAPTER II.

THE TRUMPET SCENES.

It is of consequence that we take account of the distinction betwixt *announcement* and *exhibition*, and that we conceive, as correctly as possible, of the various spectacles that passed before the anointed vision of the Apocalyptic seer. For we shall find that symbolic objects, as presented to the eye, sometimes yield a meaning more definite than a mere statement on the subject, as addressed to the ear. As to how the various exhibitions were effected we may be entirely ignorant. Enough that such is the fact. Nor need we be very solicitous as to the method, when we find that even the Tempter had the power given him—in some way beyond our comprehension—to set before our Lord “all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them.” And even our own dreams, so remarkable for range and brevity, precision and impressiveness, will show us our capacity for receiving any visions which it may please “Him who revealeth secrets” to vouchsafe. (Dan. ii. 28.)

The matter before us, important as it is, calls for but a few words.

1. Here is a vision of the *Earth*—namely, some definite region. Dark clouds, we may well suppose, are seen gathering over it. Hail falls heavily, mixed with fire and blood. A third part of the *Earth*—or, what may well be so designated, and a *definite* portion too, we may again suppose—is burnt up, ceasing henceforth to form any portion of that *Earth*. At the same time, the whole of the green grass, and a third part of trees, over the same region, are seen to be burnt up, and pass away.

2. The scene has changed. It is now the *Sea*, with its shores, we suppose, that appears—and, presumably, the *Sea* in connection with the *Earth* already seen. Of this *Sea* one-third part—definite again, we imagine—becomes blood; while a third of its ships is destroyed, and a third of the living creatures belonging to it dies.

3. *A blazing Star*—which would well correspond to a bright meteor falling and bursting—is now seen to come down on the rivers and fountains of the same *Earth*, doubtless. Men go, as usual, to drink of the waters; but with a strange result. They are seen to shrink back, as from something of terrible bitterness; while many of them sicken, stagger, and die;—some intimation, meanwhile, having reached the ear of the prophet that the *Star*—from its manifest action, possibly in the past, certainly in the present—has obtained the name of *Wormwood*. It is the *third* part of the *rivers* or waters, let us mark, and the *whole* of the *fountains* that is seen to be affected.

4. The *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Stars*—still of the same region, we must believe—are suddenly and violently smitten; the result being a darkness in the same proportion as that

which so strongly marks these Trumpet scenes—one-third. That this darkening is temporary, as well as partial, the Seer is made sensible of by the impression, as we imagine, conveyed to him that he has been witnessing it for the third part of a day and of a night—after which the full brightness returns.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST TRUMPET.

Symbols.

"THE first angel sounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth: and the third part of the earth was burnt up,* and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up." (Rev. viii. 7.)

Now as to the *Earth*, we shall endeavour to ascertain what it is, when we come to consider the scope of the first four Trumpets. Meanwhile, we have the fact that there was known to John a certain region, as "the world," which the Roman Emperor had commanded to be taxed—and we have assumed that that is "the earth," in Daniel's vision of the fourth kingdom. (Chap. vii. 23.) Farther than this we do not now go.

"*Fire* (or lightning†) *and hail*"—they are two of the most terrible weapons in the arsenal of heaven, for punish-

* See below, page 68.

† It seems most natural to take 'fire,' when thus connected with *hail*, as pointing to electric fire, under some form; and so we have done. But this is not essential to our view. It is enough for us that the hail, by *itself*, has the signficancy ascribed to it below.

ing the sins of men. And, more especially, their use is to break down and to break up whatever they fall upon. Disorganization and destruction are the direct results of such a discharge from above. Thus it was in Egypt, when "there was hail and fire mingled with the hail . . . and the hail smote all that was in the field, both man and beast;" and then the king's servants came, saying—"Knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed?" (Exod. ix.; x.; Ps. lxxviii. 46, 47; cv. 32, 33.) So, under Joshua, "The Canaanites that died of the hailstones were more than they whom the children of Israel slew" (Joshua x. 11.)—where we get the same view of the disorganizing and prostrating of a great hostile power. With a like reference David could say—"The Highest gave His voice, hailstones and coals of fire. He sent out His arrows and scattered them," &c. (Ps. xviii. 13, 14; cf. cxliv. 6.) So, the announcement to Ephraim, "The Lord hath a mighty and strong one; as a tempest of hail. . . He casts to the earth with the hand. And the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies." (Isa. xxviii. 2, 17.) And once more, in the important passage—"When it shall hail, coming down on the forest (or, in the downfall of the forest), and the city shall be brought down." (See margin Isa. xxxii. 19; so chap. xxx. 30, 31; and Ezek. xiii. 11, 13, where the hail is in connection with the downfall of the Jewish nation.) Thus in the Apocalypse also, where the judgment is in progress which is "to destroy them that destroy the earth," there are seen "lightnings and great hail." (xi. 19.) And at the final overthrow of Babylon, there falls upon men "a great hail out of heaven, about the weight of a talent,

and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail." (xvi. 21.) Thus the hail-trumpet becomes a distinct proclamation of the approaching downfall of some great Power.

It is not only hail and fire, however, that we have here to do with—but these "mingled with blood."* That is to say, the hail and lightning serve their purpose in direct connection with the work of slaughter. Wheresoever they come, there comes the blood also. The first two indicate, on a vast scale, the operation of shattering and overturning; the third implies an enormous sacrifice of life. Now, kingdoms have often been broken up without much bloodshed; and, on the other hand, blood has often flowed profusely, without any such result. But here the blood, or the blood in connection with the fire, is the direct instrumentality for bringing about the overthrow to which the hailstorm points.

Trees and Grass.—In nature, the one are prominent objects on the ground; the other is spread about everywhere. Trees are separate and elevated; grass is mixed up and low. Precisely so in Scripture symbolism. Trees are individuals standing out either for character or office; the grass points to the multitude.

(1) *Trees* represent persons prominent as to character good or bad. (Ps. i. 3; xcii. 12; xxxvii. 35; Jer. xvii. 8.) In various places the figure represents *rulers* as in Isaiah xiv. 8, where the trees of Lebanon are made to say to the Babylonian monarch, "Since thou art laid down, no feller

* We have a striking example of the same combination in the judgment upon Gog in Ezek. xxxviii. 2.

is come up against us." Nor can the frequently misapplied words in Isaiah x. 18 have any other signification—"The rest of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a child may write them" (*cf.* Jer. xlv. 23). So in the answer of Joash to Amaziah's insolent challenge, "The thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon," &c. (2 Kings xiv. 9.) In Zech. xi. the cedars and oaks of verses 1, 2 are, the shepherds or rulers of verse 3 (*cf.* Isa. xxxvii. 24; Jer. xxii. 6, 7; Amos ii. 9). In Ezekiel are several minute allegories in which royal personages are set forth as trees. Thus chaps. xvii., xix., and especially chap. xxxi., where the Assyrian is a cedar on Lebanon, towering above the ordinary rulers of the world, or "trees of the field." To all this add the description of Nebuchadnezzar, under the same figure, in Dan. iv.

(2) *Grass.* The references to this are less frequent; and, while their chief point is the perishable nature of men as likened to grass (Isa. xxxvii. 27—but even this in contrast with the trees in verse 24), still is there thus established an association that remains, although the reference may be different. In Isaiah xl. 6, 7, we read, "All flesh is grass . . . surely the people is grass." In verses 22–24 the general population of the earth is grouped together as a mass of insects most resembling the grass; while, on the other hand, the *princes* or *judges* are set up for a separate comparison—"Yea they shall not be *planted*, yea their *stock* shall not take root in the earth." So strongly marked, in short, is the Scripture figure of the trees that the employment of it in Rev. viii. in such relationship to the grass, might of itself satisfy us that the two symbols

are there used, the one for that which it so commonly stands for, and the other for that which is related to it as the grass to the trees.*

But, besides all this, we find in one important place, *grass* employed as the distinct symbol of the ordinary population; and not only so, but in a case altogether analogous to the group of the first four Trumpets. It is in Amos vii. 1, &c., where the object is nothing less than to display the steps by which, under the successive Assyrian invasions, the kingdom of Israel was brought to an end.

We venture thus to take the grass in that passage as symbolical, because, (1) There is too much mechanism in the vision to admit of literality being intended. (2) It was never the habit of locusts to confine themselves to *grass*; and the fact that those here do so shows that neither locusts nor grass are literal. Allowing, then, the passage to be symbolical, here would be the meaning. There has already taken place, according to verse 1, a large mowing of the grass of the land; and now there has begun the shooting of the latter growth. It is this latter growth—the last for the season—which is being threat-

* Looking cursorily at chap. ix. 4, 15, it might seem that grass and tree are taken literally, thus raising quite a difficulty in our way. But this really would be only a superficial view. For—(1) Where everything is so strongly symbolical, it is certainly to be presumed that *grass* and *tree* form no exception. (2) It would be superfluous, and indeed idle, to say that locusts, thus characterized, were *not sent to eat grass*. (3) The truth plainly is that their commission is not against *classes* of men, high or low, *i.e. trees* or *grass*—but against *character*—even “the men who have not the seal of God upon them.” The hail and fire, on the contrary, were sent upon *classes*.

ened by the newly-formed locusts; but is, through the prophet's intercession, spared for the present.

Now what all this refers to seems very plain. The first mowing is clearly the depopulation that took place in the time of Jehu (Amos i. 3; 2 Kings x. 32, 33), and continued throughout the reign of his son Jehoahaz (xiii. 3-7)—being actually spoken of in the first and last of these passages under the similar figure of the *threshing of grain*. After this there comes a reaction under Joash (chap. xiii. 25), which continues to the time of Jeroboam II. (Chap. xiv. 25-28.) It has now come to the shooting of the latter growth, or the last springing for the remaining term of Israel's national existence. Twelve years after Jeroboam II. we have the wicked Menahem, against whom comes in force the Assyrian Pul—with the object, doubtless, of making a large deportation of the people—of doing, in fact, what exactly answers to the view of locusts prepared to devour the “grass of the latter growth.” So inevitable, in short, did this seem to be that it appeared as already done—and ere long it would be done—when the hand of mercy at last intervenes.

But now, if “grass” represents people as such, the “greenness,” which implies that the grass is at its best, will indicate something more or less special; *i.e.* people under certain conditions or relations—these being, at least, of a high and valuable kind. For grass is not always green; and the more common that quality is, the less would it have been specified, without a purpose. Greenness thus introduced may also intimate an amount of vigour promising further continuance. For what, if

the grass that is already past its greenness is not associated—as we have no right to assume that it is—with the green in the burning? The matter seems not free from paradox; but where symbolism is clear, paradox always finds its explanation, that is, when the true facts appear. Until then, the riddle remains.

Meanwhile, we should carefully notice the marked specialty—not *all grass*,—as would have been so natural—not a third part of *green grass*, according to the analogy throughout, but *all green grass*. Could it more emphatically appear that these various proportions have in them nothing of random or routine, nor yet of the merely arbitrary or idealistic; but that, on the other hand, they show a distinct design to express, in whatever style it may be, a definite view of events the most substantial?

In regard, then, to the *third* part, it is a noteworthy circumstance that in these Apocalyptic visions, with all their array of numbers, only in the present section does this proportion occur. Thus we have it in each of these four Trumpets—and not less than twelve times altogether; then in the Sixth Trumpet (ch. ix. 15, 18); and in the vision of the Dragon (ch. xii. 4), belonging, as that does, to the period of the 1260 days, under the *second woe*, or the same Sixth Trumpet.

Besides this, we find also that, while the trumpets thus deal so much with third parts in the way of injury, the vials deal with nothing less than wholes; so much so that, when a third part is mentioned, as it once is, in that series, it is manifestly the entire three parts that are involved—"The great city was divided into three parts,"

and this as preliminary to the final judgment upon the whole. There must, then, it seems, be some important meaning couched under this figure of the third. And in seeking for that meaning, what can we do, but turn to the cases in Scripture, of which, as a matter of *principle*, the *third* part is a leading feature? Thus we find that to the firstborn was allotted *two-thirds* of the inheritance. (Deut. xxiv. 7.) When Reuben, therefore, lost the birthright, and it passed to Joseph—though the sceptre fell to Judah—it followed that Joseph got a double portion in the land. (1 Chron. v. 1, 2.) So when David (2 Samuel viii. 2) measured Moab with two lines “to put to death, and with one full line to keep alive”—the idea was that death thus received the double portion of the firstborn. And the same is the view given of chastisement and judgment in Zech. xiii. 8—“In all the land two parts shall be cut off and die, but the third shall be left therein” (*cf.* Ezek. v. 12). So much should the work of destruction exceed, for the one occasion, the work of deliverance. On the other hand, it is deliverance that obtains the double portion in the Trumpet scenes. Life, after all, is greatly in the ascendant in the midst of these dire calamities. In regard to the green grass, however, it is otherwise, as we have observed already.

Proceeding, then, on this view of the third part, the sense in the present case would be this—That a certain portion of the earth, or territory in question, was not only scorched and devastated by the fiery hail, as the whole indeed seems to have been, but was actually ‘burnt up,’ thus *ceasing to form a part of the same earth*. But then,

this, though large, was only a third part after all; so that life still enjoys the double portion, not to speak of prospective additions from other quarters, which may equal or surpass the present loss. Enough if, through the hail and fire, there take place such a burning up, and setting aside, as is thus intimated. We might, of course, take refuge in a more general view, and say that, upon the whole, the earth doubtless suffered what might, when all put together, amount to the burning of the third part. Yes, but would there be much value in a view so general? Would there be the means of finding any good ground for the assumption? And would this, after all, answer to a *burning up*, or meet what appears to be a very definite object in the vision? And if it stand thus with the earth, then to this will correspond the similar view given us of the *third part of trees*, or chief men of the region, and period, in question. This will by no means, indeed, involve their personal excision; for, while burnt up as *trees*, they may still exist as *men*. The same will apply to the green grass, and will relieve us from the difficulty that would have attached to the entire burning up of any population. For if grass, whose whole value lies in its greenness, lose through fire this quality—then it may well be said that the green grass is burnt up. So that, after all, the destruction of human life will be signified, not by the burning of the grass, but by the blood mingled with the hail. And thus will the historical question take its shape as to what the burning up of the third part of earth and trees, as well as of all green grass can point to.

Before proceeding to the fulfilment of all this, we simply call attention to the act which precedes the sealing work in chap. vii, as throwing some light on *earth, sea, and tree*.*

Need we add, how incongruous with this, and the whole scene, would be the notion of earth as represented in a state of rest, and sea of turmoil, where all is expressly, and only, rest!

* In verse 3 we read, "Hurt not the earth, nor the sea, nor *the trees*," &c. Now it is reasonable to take *trees* in the figurative sense of which we have so many examples; to take them as literal trees would not be so. For if the wind be restrained from blowing on the *earth*, of course it *cannot touch* the literal tree. The meaning plainly is, that it is not to blow upon the earth in general, so as to affect the ordinary population—nor yet upon the trees, or ruling class. To suppose a literal wind at all—blowing, or not blowing, on literal trees—in relation to the sealing of the saints, would be simply absurd.

CHAPTER IV.

SECOND TRUMPET.

. Symbols.

“AND the second angel sounded, and, as it were, a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea: and the third part of the sea became blood; and the third part of the creatures which were in the sea, and had life, died; and the third part of the ships were destroyed.” (Chap. viii. 8. 9.)

Now the first thing that strikes us here is the very marked parallelism between this Trumpet and the preceding one. There we had Earth with its trees and grass; here we have Sea with its ships and living creatures. If, then, that Earth denoted certain regions under the dominion of a great power, whose downfall was intimated by the *hail*, what can this *Sea* so naturally point to as just the one most closely connected with that Earth? Of course, we may idealize, and suppose that by Sea is meant something very wide of the literal; but ‘sea’ in Scripture stands for nothing nearly so often as for itself; and in a direct representation like this, unmodified by any one element of peculiarity, we are not acquainted with it in

any other sense than as the thing which the word directly signifies.*

We are prepared, of course, for the common objection—"One thing literal, everything literal"—although this cannot be urged by any who accept of a literal earth, and figurative hail. But, in answer to it, we will venture to say that a sharp line like this is purely arbitrary, and as little known to Scripture as to ordinary discourse. Thus *e.g.* Psalm lxxx. is one of the purest allegories in the Bible—the Vine and its story being all figurative; and yet various things are strictly literal, namely Egypt, the land, the sea, the river. These are simple geographical expressions, and left in the midst of an array of figures, to speak for themselves.†

* The word *Sea* in the Apocalypse is so much employed in what seems to be the mere mechanism of visions, that it would be difficult to disentangle it from that, so as to show its exact bearing in all cases. It is in vain to tell us that *Sea* means *nations*, because the expression '*many waters*' in xvii. 1, 15, does so. Everything in such matters depends upon *the word*, not upon what we take for an equivalent. In the following cases the meaning of *sea* seems quite literal. (Chap. v. 13; vii. 1, 3; x. 6; xiv. 7; xx. 13; xxi. 1.) Hengstenberg, who seems to have forsworn the last vestige of literality, says on xx. 13, "The sea is here, as commonly in the Apocalypse, the sea of the *peoples*, the wicked, restless world. The dead, whom the sea conceals, are those who were slain in the bloody conflict of selfishness against selfishness." This may be taken as a sample of the idealizing style.

† So in Ezek. xix., we have a strong allegory in which Jewish kings are depicted as lions—trained, hunting, and themselves hunted and caught. And yet certain things are literal; as Egypt, Babylon, Israel, the nations. In the same chapter is an allegory of a Vine, with still less of mixture; and yet even here we find one thing quite literal—"the sceptres of them that bear rule." Cf. Jeremiah's allegory of the girdle (chap. xiii.), in which all is figure except '*Euphrates*.' In Ezek. xxxi. we have one of the purest of allegories, in which the Powers and peoples of the world appear

Now there is something very striking in the manner in which, throughout Scripture, judgment upon the sea generally attends the same upon the land. It seems almost impossible to omit this, wherever there is room for it; and such room seems made where there appeared to be none.

In the case of Tyre, such judgment was, of course, inevitable, and so we find that the Lord "stretches out His hand over the *sea*, and shakes the kingdoms." (Isa. xxiii. 4, 11.) But this action is just as marked in regard to other powers, whose situation was greatly or entirely different. Thus in the breaking of Rahab, there is nothing so grand as "the drying up the sea, the waters of the great deep." (Isa. li. 10.) And in subsequent judgments upon the same Egypt, the very river, in the grandeur of its overflow, brings up before the prophetic eye a vision of the sea—"The waters shall fail from the *sea*, and the river shall be wasted and dried up." (Isa. xix. 5.) So Nineveh, which had nothing maritime about it but its river, is thus compared with the great Egyptian city, "Art thou better than populous No (No-Ammon), whose rampart was the *sea*, and her wall was from the sea?" (Nah. iii. 8.) And, to the same purpose, the great sister city Babylon is told,— "I will dry up the sea;" "The sea is come up upon Babylon;" "For your sakes I have sent to Babylon, and brought down her nobles, and the Chaldeans whose cry is

simply as cedars, fig-trees, chestnut-trees, with branches, surrounded by fowls and beasts. And yet even here are several things literal—Assyrian, nations, peoples, children of men, &c. (vv. 3, 6, 11, 12, 14, 16.) And not only so, but in some of them, as 14, 16, we have the *trees delivered to death*, as equivalent to the *children of men going down to the pit*. The same is true of Ezek. xxxii. 1-10.

in the ships."* (Jer. li. 36, 42, 55; Isa. xliii. 14; cf. xxxiii. 23.) So when the Babylonian judgment falls upon Judah, though the reference to sea is slight, still it is there—"I will consume man and beast, the fowls of heaven, and the fishes of the sea." (Zeph. i. 3.)

Most striking of all is the reference to the kingdom of Israel, in the cardinal passage from Amos, as already referred to. First, comes—as designed at Pul's invasion (2 Kings xv. 19), but mercifully put off for the present,—the eating up of the grass. Next, comes the fire—a part of its work being to "devour the great deep." This seems clearly the invasion by Tiglath-pileser in Pekah's time (2 Kings xv. 29); and in favour of the belief that the literal sea is referred to, we have (1) the copious *Scripture analogy* already indicated. (2) The *distinct meaning* of the expression (not simply *deep*, but *great deep*, *tehôm rabbah*), an expression having, when thus standing by itself, no other sense; and all this combined with (3) the *reasonable bearing* of the judgment announced. That is to say, the second judgment—*cut short*, as it was, *in its course*, not deferred like the first—extends to the maritime tribes, Asher, Zebulun, and Dan (Gen. xlix. 13; Deut. xxxiii. 19; Jud. v. 17)—sweeping along as a devouring fire, even upon that great deep which they would naturally trust in, and boast of, as at once their defence and treasure. But in vain such trust and boasting now; for "though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I

* In regard to "the naval or maritime activity of Babylon, Lowth has made it probable at least, that it really existed in very early times." ALEXANDER *On Isaiah*.

command the serpent, and he shall bite them." (Amos ix. 3.) Yes, and the fire should "devour (not a *part* but) *the Portion.*" And if each tribe had *its portion*, what can *this* portion, so connected with the sea, be but just the very special one assigned to Zebulon—"They shall suck the abundance of the sea, and of treasures hid in the sand"?* That this choice spot of seashore would be an object of especial desire to the Assyrian invader we can well believe.

Is it strange, then, if after this continual combining of land and sea, in the Scriptural programme of judgment, we should find the same connection betwixt the First and Second Trumpets? If a distinguished earthly power, with great naval resources, was to be brought down, how else than by such a combination was the appointed end to be secured?

"*Into the sea there was cast, as it were, a great mountain burning with fire.*" The sea, then, on the grounds already stated, may well be literal, without the mountain being so also. For, in fact, it is not a mountain at all that is spoken of, but "*as it were* a mountain." Nor does this combination of the two styles give rise to the least confusion. If such an object as the sea be referred to, what name can be so appropriate as its own? Whereas if a great hostile power

* "A tiny shore but unexhausted."—TAC. *Hist.* v. 7. "A shore of not above half a mile, it has sufficed for yielding *glass* for so many centuries."—PLIN. *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 26. "Two miles from Ptolemais, a very little stream runs by called Beleus, where, by the tomb of Memnon, is a wondrous place of 100 cubits. It is circular and hollow, and yields the sand for glass; after it has been emptied, many ship-loads having been taken, it is filled up again."—JOS. *B. J.* ii. 10-12.

is to be introduced, it naturally appears under the form of some striking natural object fitted to represent it.

Now, the figure of *hill* or *mountain* was already a familiar one for indicating *national powers*. Thus, in Ps. lxxviii. 16, the haughty nations around Zion are asked, "Why leap ye, ye high hills?" In Isaiah ii. 1, and Micah iv. 1, the revived theocracy, as well as the Gentile nations, are represented under the same figure—"The mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills." In Isaiah x. 34, Lebanon stands as a figure for the Assyrian power, and in Zech. xi. 1, for the Jewish. In Amos vi. 1, it seems plain enough what is meant by "trusting in the mountain of Samaria." In Zech. iv. 7, the *great mountain* which is to become a plain can only mean some distinguished world-power; while in chap. vi. 1, the "two mountains of brass" seem not obscurely to indicate the meeting of two great powers—probably the divine kingdom and some human one. In Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Dan. ii.), the great mountain that fills the whole earth is no other than that fifth kingdom that is to displace all the foregoing. Let us add here that the same style is not unknown to the Apocalypse itself. In chap. xvii. 9, 10, the "seven mountains" on which Rome sits are made to represent so many royal or national supports.

But, important above all, is the address to Babylon, "Behold, I am against thee, O destroying mountain, saith the Lord, which destroyest all the earth: and I will stretch out mine hand upon thee, and roll thee down from the rocks, and will make thee a burnt mountain." (Jer. li.

25.) Now this language seems clearly suggested by the great mountain-like structure in Babylon, which would naturally be regarded as symbolizing that political power which, like the material object itself, towered over all around. Is it too much to suppose that the figure of "burning mountain," now before us, may have been similarly suggested by an event which, at the date of the Apocalypse, must have been fresh in the world's remembrance—the great eruption of Vesuvius? Besides which there was in the same neighbourhood Etna, with all its fame, and the ever-burning Stromboli, which already many of John's friends had looked on. But, however all that be regarded, this mountain, we can see, has been wrenched from its seat on the land, and launched into the sea, there to carry on its ravages. It had been a burning mountain before, and the sea has not quenched it. It burns as fiercely as ever, while it also moves about with a terrible freedom. To escape from it now is hard indeed.

"And the third part of the sea became blood." Now this might be taken as indicating an enormous amount of slaughter by sea; but with such a view there could be no possible approach to any verification of the prophecy. It is more satisfactory, in every way, to ground the exposition on the broad fact of the turning into blood of the Egyptian waters. And what was signified by that? Plainly this—that those waters were, for the time, entirely diverted from every useful purpose, and that, in the most shocking and loathsome manner. There is the more reason to refer back to the circumstance, because the *Apocalypse itself* makes use of it, as when the witnesses

are said to "have power over the waters, to turn them to blood;" and also presents us, under the second vial, with the appalling view of the whole sea, as turned into "the blood of a dead man." Such would certainly be an irremediable evil, as would not be the case with the partial, and milder, Trumpet one. But there is this in it to our present purpose—that it plainly points to something different from mere slaughter. And just possibly, as conspiring, rather than conflicting, with this view, there may be the idea, underneath, of the impression that would naturally be made by the lurid glare of the burning mountain on the sea—reminding us of the occasion when the Moabites, at the sight of the sunshine on the ditches, exclaimed, "This is blood." (2 Kings iii. 23.) But anyhow, if we take the symbol as suggested, we get a stupendous view of the shutting out from the Power in question of a third part of its precious sea. The evil, as just hinted, is not, indeed, incurable. There is nothing apparently to indicate that this portion of the sea is irretrievably gone, as seems the case with the burnt-up third part of the earth. But for the present, it is useless—and useless, not through drying up, as would have seemed natural in connection with the great burning mountain, but in such a way as leads us directly back to the Egyptian plague, and the distinct view so presented.

"And the third part of ships were destroyed." How many fortunes must have gone down with all these ships! How many "merchant princes" there would be, and "honourable of the earth," whose entire greatness was wrapped up in their proud vessels! (Isaiah xxiii. 8; cf.

Rev. xviii. 19.)* And if, at all this distance of place and time, we can stand by Ezekiel in his watch tower, and join with him in his wondering detail of the wealth, and his thrilling lamentation over the fall, of Tyrus (chap. xxvii.), so also we can realize something of the marvellous resources of the Power in the Trumpet vision, and sympathize in the appalling calamity involved in the loss of a third part of its ships, as the precursor of its own downfall. We may also venture to regard these as the ships of that same third part of the sea, which had just been turned into blood.

"And the third part of the creatures which were in the sea, having life, died." Now if the ships represented the superior life in connection with the sea, whether of masters or merchants, then we may take the living creatures as indicating the ordinary seafaring life ranging under these. In a word, the analogy is complete between the ships, with the living creatures, on the one hand—and the trees, with the grass on the other. There is just the one remarkable difference that, while *all* the green grass is burnt up, only the ordinary *third* of these living creatures dies. The reason for this distinction may appear, when once we have ascertained the true reference of the green grass.

* As to the articles of merchandize so fully detailed in connection with this Babylon, there can be no doubt that they are in the highest degree symbolical; and that of necessity arises from the symbolical character of the city itself, which is not only Babylon the Great, but Babylon "the mother of harlots, &c." Hence the merchandize will consist of whatever was required for her peculiar operations. The matter may be put thus—As the new Babylon to the old, so will be the merchandize of the two respectively. And so if the Sea in the Second Trumpet can be as fairly shown to be a figure as 'Babylon the Great' is—then the 'ships' also must be sought in the region of figures, but not otherwise.

CHAPTER V.

THIRD TRUMPET.

Symbols.

“AND the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters; and the name of the star is called Wormwood: and the third part of the waters became wormwood; and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter.” (Rev. viii. 10, 11.)

Now a single star, we may confidently say, can only symbolize some distinguished individual—and we may add, in the position of *ruler*. Just as ‘hail’ will denote multitude, and ‘mountain’ a national power, so ‘star’ will point to a person. “There shall come a star out of Jacob.” (Num. xxiv. 17.) “How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!” (Isa. xiv. 12.) “The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches.” “I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth, and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.” “I am the bright and morning star.” (Rev. i. 20; ix. 1; xxii. 16; cf. xii. 4.) We thus see that ‘Star’ may signify even a

king, if it be his *person* that is in question, while 'Sun' would denote the *royal government*.

But there is little need to insist on this, as the principle will be readily granted. The important thing for us now is rightly to estimate the distinction betwixt 'hail' and 'mountain' on the one hand, and 'star' on the other. That is to say, 'star' points to an individual, and is not at all likely even to include a nation as governed by him, or a multitude as following him. It is only in very exceptional cases, indeed, that the Scripture ever singles out an individual invader. The rule is to specify the people, and take their leader for granted. Nor is it at all likely that the present reference to a blazing star is any exception to this rule. That is to say, there is reason to presume, at the outset, that the Star does not point to any of the Barbarian irruptions, even though headed by an Attila.

And not only so, but there is every possible reason for rejecting the idea. Thus—(1) The symbol always points to some distinguished ruling personage in the political or social sphere, never to a *mere slaughterer*. It might, of course, point to an invader; but it would be invader *as ruler*, not ruler *as invader*. (2) This "star fell from heaven," and it is no better than a play upon words to take this as the posture and act of a destroyer coming down on his prey. It is weakness after strength, not strength before weakness, that the expression indicates—abasement, in short, not triumph. The true idea is exactly conveyed in the passage from Isaiah—"How art thou *fallen from heaven*," &c. (3) The Star was highly con-

spicuous before it fell. It appeared "burning as it were a lamp." But this cannot be said of a barbarian, never heard of till his appearance as a ravager. (4) "The name of the star is called Wormwood," that is to say, its influence and action, perhaps before its fall, but certainly after it, were of an intensely bitter character. Now killing is certainly bitter work at all times—so much so, indeed, that it little required such a full-drawn picture in relation to any one of these barbarians. (5) "It fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters." And where would these be? On what *principle* shall we venture to answer, 'Lombardy'? (6) "And the third part of the waters became wormwood." But why only bitterness, when really blood is meant, and when (7) "Many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter"? What a strange roundabout way of telling that many were killed by the sword! Not a word is there of sword, or blood, or war—but a star called Wormwood falls upon certain waters—the waters become wormwood—men drink of the bitter waters, and many die. And all this indicates, as some sensible people are willing to believe, the action, with its results, of Attila and his Huns in Northern Italy! No wonder, if this be a fair specimen of 'historical interpretation,' that such interpretation should have fallen into disrepute with an important class of Bible students. It is not so grotesque, indeed, as much that has been written on some other parts of the Apocalypse. But it is sufficiently so to injure greatly the cause of truth. And we will venture to say that such a view would never have entered any sober mind as the sense of

the symbols—had it not been that Attila appeared on the stage just at the time when he could be laid hold of for substantiating something that otherwise seemed perplexing and unsubstantial.

How, then, are we to understand "*the rivers and fountains of waters*"? It is out of the question to think of literal battle-fields in the neighbourhood of literal rivers. Nor is it easy to think of any reference to literal rivers and fountains which would afford a happier explanation. It is easy to think of a literal sea with a fleet, under the figure of a volcano, launched upon it, for this is entirely natural. But it is not easy to think of literal rivers becoming wormwood, through the falling upon them of a blazing star; this would be utterly unnatural. Everything, in short, in such a picture is clearly figurative. The two cases differ in their groundwork; and the principle of the difference is this;—when purely material objects, as earth, sea, ships, are referred to, there is no alternative but to speak of them as such. When, on the other hand, *characters* and *principles* form the basis of a picture, the natural course is to present these under some material image. Thus a firm man is a rock; a bold man a lion; a conqueror, unequalled for the speed of his ravages, is a panther with four wings. And so on.

Let us see then, how the case stands with the expressions, "Rivers and fountains of waters." Everything in the Trumpet Vision seems to demand for them a figurative sense. But what authority or usage have we to justify this? We have the uniform Scriptural practice of em-

ploying figuratively expressions like these, wherever such a sense is required by the connection. Thus, "He leadeth me beside the still waters." Now here we say at once that the waters are figurative, because only thus can they have a place in the Divine Shepherd's leading. On the other hand, it is equally plain that the kindred expression 'seas' in the 24th Psalm is literal, "He hath founded it on the seas, and established it on the floods." In Psalm xli., 'sea' and 'waters' can be taken either literally, or figuratively, because either would be true and suitable; while "the river and streams that make glad the city of God" can only be figurative and spiritual. The same is true of 'waves' and 'billows' in Psalms xlii. and lxxxviii., and 'springs' in Ps. lxxxvii. Or take Ps. lxvi. 12, "We went through fire and through water." Such language will always be explained by the connection. In the present case it seems purely figurative.

Some passages in Isaiah will furnish additional illustrations of importance. "This people refuseth the waters of Shiloah that go softly" (viii. 6)—by which is to be understood the quiet rule of the house of David. Then follow a number of figures from *water*, explained as referring to the Assyrian invasion. (vv. 7, 8.) In xxxiii. 21, there is no ambiguity in regard to that which so plainly speaks for itself—"The glorious Lord will be to us a place of broad rivers and streams." So in xxxv. 6, 7, "In the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert; and the parched ground shall become a pool, and the thirsty land springs of water." And once more, "I will open rivers in high places, and fountains in the midst of the valleys."

(xli. 18.) It is the spiritual described in the language of the natural.*

Thus the *subject of discourse* is always held sufficient to determine the meaning of such expressions. If that subject is distinctly of a moral, or political character, the expressions are employed with, or without explanation, or note of comparison, to denote influences and operations of a corresponding character. How then, is it in the case before us? Simply thus. Fire and sword have come on the *earth*, and the same on the *sea*. Now comes a mass of Wormwood upon the *ivers* and *fountains of waters*—and that, from the fall upon them of a great shining Star. If now, the star be some notable person in the political world, then the sphere which is so seriously affected by its fall will naturally belong to the social and political life of the community. Thus shall we have a Scriptural meaning for

* The two expressions are thus used in the Apocalypse itself.

(1) *Fountain*.—There are the cases in which it goes with *life* (vii. 17; xxi. 6)—the figurative sense being involved in the language itself, and therefore affording no help in this enquiry. On the other hand, we have the word as denoting merely a part of creation (xiv. 7)—where the *literal* sense is for the same reason as plain, and as little helpful to us. In chap. xvi. 4, we have the same expression as in our passage; and the whole being still more markedly figurative, it would be unnatural to take 'fountain' literally.

(2) *River*.—The remark in regard to *fountain of life* will apply to *river of life* (xxii. 2); and what has been said of the vial *fountain* (xvi. 4) will apply to the vial *river*. But besides this, we have the very important circumstance that the *great river Euphrates*, in xvi. 12, is undoubtedly figurative—thus confirming the same view of verse 4. And, after this, how can we regard the same *river* in ix. 14 in any other light? And how but figuratively can we take the *river* which the dragon cast against the woman? (xii. 15, 16.) It thus appears that the word *river* is not employed literally in the Apocalypse at all.

each of the symbols, with a harmonious combination of the whole. For it will turn out that the fall and extinction of the Star acts as wormwood on the springs of social life, and the streams of political action. The waters are embittered and poisoned—the result being an extensive mortality in the community. Now what can be more natural than that such a thing should occur in connection with the events of the previous trumpets, and as the immediate forerunner of the great political collapse which is to form the subject of the next?

It is worthy of notice that, in connection with the three Assyrian invasions—which, in the symbolic language of Amos, form so remarkable a parallel to the Trumpet scenes—we have the moral condition of things described under figures which, at the very least, are strikingly illustrative of the language in question. “Ye who turn judgment to wormwood, and leave off righteousness in the earth.” “Ye have turned judgment into gall, and the fruit of righteousness into hemlock.” “Let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream.” (Amos v. 7, 24; vi. 12.)

We only ask attention here to the *proportions* as expressed—leaving the rest for the historical view. The Star fell, we are told, upon the *third* part of the *rivers*, and upon the *fountains* of waters—the consequence being that a *third* part of the waters was embittered, and *many* men died.

CHAPTER VI.

FOURTH TRUMPET.

Symbols.

“AND the fourth angel sounded, and the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars; so as the third part of them was darkened, and the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise.” (Rev. viii. 12.)

That these luminaries denote the governing authorities in the Earth of the prophecy, from the highest to the subordinate, will be pretty generally allowed; and with ample reason. The language, in regard to Sun and Stars, at least, has, from the very earliest times, become incorporated with ordinary human speech. The Egyptian name ‘Pharaoh’ “corresponds, without doubt, to PH-RA, ‘the Sun’ of the hieroglyphics;”^{*}—the idea plainly being that the King was upon earth what the Sun is in the heavens; and the whole carrying us back to the groundwork in the original appointment of “the Sun to rule by day, the Moon and Stars by night.” It is of consequence to observe the

^{*} SMITH’s *Dict. of Bible*. We see no reason to question this, notwithstanding the different etymology as given by Professor Sayce in his article on *the Bible and Monuments*, in *Bible for Bible Teachers*, No. viii.

early application of this language figuratively in Joseph's dream—in which not only are *sun* and *moon* used for the *first* and *second* rank in the family, but the eleven *stars* were virtually *princes* in society. As for Scripture usage, most important of all is Isaiah xiii. 10, where we have the threefold division of heavenly lights, in manifest allusion to earthly powers; besides which we have the distinction betwixt 'heavens and earth' as expressive of that betwixt governors and governed: *cf.* "I will shake the heavens" (v. 13) as something to be felt—corresponding with the darkening of Sun, Moon, and Stars (v. 10): *cf.* 'Earth removing,' and becoming as a 'deserted sheep' (vv. 13, 14), with the 'desolate land,' and 'punished world' (vv. 9, 11.) And in ch. xxiv., What is "the host of the high ones on high" but "the kings of the earth" (v. 21)*—Sun and Moon being again introduced as symbolical. (v. 23.) In Ezek. xxxii. 7, 8, the same figures have a peculiar significance from being employed in regard to the government of *Egypt*. Nor can it be doubted that the reference of the language is political, when Daniel says (ch. viii. 10), "It waxed great to the host of heaven; and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars, to the ground."

Such being the bodies acted on, what is the action itself?—"The third part of the Sun was smitten. . . . So that (this) was darkened."

Here, let us well mark, are two distinct things. It is not said, as is so readily assumed, that they were *smitten*

* This assumes that the *and* connecting *host* and *kings* means *even*. But, independently of this, there is the parallel symbol in verse 23.—See ALEXANDER *On Isaiah*.

with darkness ; but they were smitten, *so that* the darkening ensued. Did, then, the raptured seer behold some great superhuman hand stretched out to smite the shining Sun, as in the other Trumpet scenes he must have gazed on the instrumentalities and operations depicted ? We cannot tell. But he did see, and he has uttered it, that the heavenly lights *were smitten*, and so smitten as to become darkened. It cannot be without reason—where all is so grandly precise—that the vision comprises this twofold action.

But we must carefully mark, above all, the character of the darkening. It is *to a certain extent, and for a certain time*—that is to say, it is an ECLIPSE, and a partial one. It seems strange that this, fundamental as it is, has been so much overlooked ; and thus the real import of the symbol missed. The result is that, this cardinal point having been ignored, the language has been subjected to the liberty so common in the treatment of Scripture expressions. The *third part of the Sun* came to be taken as if it had been *the Sun of the third part of the earth* ; and, as to the *third part of a day*, that seemed to have been thought of no importance. So this ‘Sun of the third part’ was conceived of as going entirely down at once, instead of, as is so plain, losing its light for a time only.

We have only to add that the same eclipse takes place in regard to the subordinate lights also.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL SCOPE OF THE FOUR TRUMPETS.*

To determine this here may be difficult. Still we must do our utmost to ascertain, at the outset, from the Trumpets themselves, what indications of it they afford. Nor, until we have done this, are we in a position to fix upon any special historical events as even probably their counterpart.

Look first, then, at the place of the Trumpets in the Apocalypse.

Before them come the Seven Seals; which, as we may presume, will, in some form or other, embrace all that follows; and for this plain reason, that, as the entire roll is enclosed within them, so the opening of *them* is co-extensive with the unrolling of the whole of it.

In accordance with this strong presumption, the first six seals, we shall now venture to say, carry us down from the early conquests of the Redeemer to His appearance for the final judgment upon His enemies. And if it be so, then all the subsequent visions in the Book, antecedent to that judgment, will have their place within the seal-period.

* This portion, it will be found, is of a transition character, between symbols and fulfilment. It seems best upon the whole to place it here.

We find, consequently, that, after the Sixth or judgment Seal, the next is nothing but an introduction to the Seven Trumpets—the events of these simply falling within some portion of the great period just named. So far, we are left without any clue either to the season itself or its events. In the hope of finding this we can only look to the Trumpets themselves.

Now the first thing that appears is a marked unity among them. As for the first three, not only are they linked together, as referring to a series of closely associated events, but they stand out as absolutely rushing on to one grand issue; and that we have in the Fourth.

Look, then, at the antecedents in the three, with the consequent in the Fourth. On the one hand, we have Earth and Sea convulsed with operations of the most destructive kind—while the inland waters of that Earth are turned into the dispensers of a wide-spread death. On the other hand, as immediately subsequent to all this, we meet with a sight still more remarkable. It is the spectacle of a great political eclipse in the very highest secular sphere—an eclipse not total, indeed, but extensive, and quite anomalous in its duration. It is an eclipse of sun, moon, and stars, to the darkening of a third part throughout, and for the third part of a day and a night—all of which implies, of course, an end of the darkening, with a return of the light; while yet the body eclipsed has been exerting no mean portion of its influence, all through the period of obscurity.

Now, what event is there in history to which this, as an Apocalyptic picture, can possibly refer but one? What

eclipse of such a character can be named (and we are entitled to restrict the question within Apocalyptic limits)—what eclipse but that only which occurred at the fall of Imperial Rome—when the old sun having utterly gone down, there still shone a true Roman light of a very peculiar kind? With entire confidence we might propose the question, and, after getting in reply an array of all imaginable events, might then call for the elimination of every one unsuitable to the case—in the certainty that not one could stand the test, except that now named. Politically speaking, the last knell of Rome seemed as though it had been struck—when, by a most peculiar operation, she was again, after a time, “*restored to honour and dominion.*”*

But why apply all this to the Western Empire? it may be said. If it be Rome at all that is indicated, surely the Eastern was as much Rome as the Western. The thought is extremely natural; but if the Apocalypse forbids it, we must give it up. And it does forbid it. For while such an eclipse, as the Fourth Trumpet indicates, did take place in the West, no such event ever occurred in the East. For a thousand years longer did the Empire there continue to exist—its sun then going down in no eclipse, but in a darkness total and final. How wonderfully the shining, and, at the same time, the obscuration of the Western sun continued, we have yet to see. Nor can we do more here than thus barely allude to it.

But it is not only this great fact that we have to do with—it is this *as the result of certain strongly marked*

* GIBBON, vol. viii. p. 161.

precursors, such as we have in the preceding trumpets. There is the devastating irruption on the Earth, the terrible mountain on the sea, the fatal embitterment of the waters—and then the Eclipse. So says the Apocalypse, and in strict accordance with it—whether that accordance be of design or of chance—history has certainly said that the Western Empire (and the Eastern not, though the whole probability looked that way at first) was brought to an end, through the inroads upon its Earth of the Northern barbarians; while yet all these would have been inadequate to the result, without certain kindred operations on its *Sea*. History has distinctly declared this, and has added the account of a strange embitterment of the social waters, resulting in a climax of intestine misery without which, after all, Rome might have survived even those shocks. So wonderful was her tenacity of life and dominion.

Let us next see whether, in the two remaining Trumpets, there is anything to confirm this view of the first four.

Now the connection betwixt the two divisions is by no means so apparent. And yet, except with a view to such connection, why the formation of a Trumpet Series at all?

But if there be such connection, then see what follows. For, in the absence of any direct notice of time or place, as regards the first four, we have some very plain indications of both these in the subsequent portion. Thus the Sixth Trumpet refers entirely to the operations conducted from a locality called the great river Euphrates. (ch. ix. 14.) Now this we are surely entitled to associate with the great city Babylon, not only for a reason that *seems self-evident*, namely, that where Euphrates is there

must Babylon be, but because the connection is elsewhere expressly indicated. (xvi. 12, 19.) And then, to proceed one step further, we know that the great Babylon—a woman sitting on seven mountains—is “that great city” (so closely knit to “a ten-horned beast”) “which reigneth over the kings of the earth.” (Rev. xvii. 5, 9, 12, 18.) That this is no other than Rome we shall now suppose to be admitted.

So much for the note of *locality* as supplied by the Sixth Trumpet. And to the same purpose is the note of *time* which it furnishes. For the Second Woe comes to an end, just with the close of the Witness Period of 1260 days (xi. 14); and this, of course, is identical with the same term of days given as the period of the great seven-headed, ten-horned, dragon (xii. 6), which surely must stand in very close connection with the similarly equipped Beast.

So far, then, it would seem that the probable reference of the prior Trumpets, as of the Sixth, will be found in close connection with the Roman world.

From another quarter also we may perhaps learn something in regard to the Trumpet Series—and that is from a comparison of it with the Vials. (ch. xvi.)

Among the latter, then, the unity is of the most un-mistakeable kind; while, at the same time, the correspondence between the two series is so marked that the individual scenes simply answer to one another in their order, each to each. The only apparent exception to this is in the fifth of the series; and yet even there the two have the darkness and the pain in common—while the

manifold analogies of the case naturally suggest the question, Whether there be not some further correspondence than that one which thus readily presents itself.

But the Vials are so expressly connected with the Ten-horned Beast, (xvi. 2, 5) and its seat the Great Babylon, by the great river Euphrates (vv. 12, 19), with its Earth, Sea, Rivers, and Sun, that we are once more brought quite within the limits of the presumption that the analogous Trumpets also must have their fulfilment in the same field.

In connection with all this we should take into account the very terms employed to designate each series respectively. For the term 'vials,' as here employed, simply indicates 'judgment,' and that of the severest kind. The "seven vials are full of the *seven last plagues*." (xxi. 9.) It is the last judgment, in short, upon the Power, or parties, in question that is being thus executed. The end itself has at length *come* of that which is being so terribly judged and punished.

But now if the pouring out of the Sixth Vial indicates the end of the great Euphratean Power, what else but the beginning, or full development, at least, of the same Power can be signified by the blast of the Sixth Trumpet? And would not this correspond exactly to the difference betwixt the vessels whose contents involve so much suffering, and the instruments which so loudly summon to action? And then—while the difference is certainly less betwixt the first three Trumpets and the corresponding Vials—except as to the greater severity of the Vial judgments—still there is, at least, this wide distinction, that

those trumpets introduce us to a sun only eclipsed, while the vials prepare the way for a sun sending forth nothing but intolerable heat, followed, on the part of the impenitent sufferers, by a blaspheming rebelliousness. Thus, again, the trumpets would answer to their proper character as summoning to action, and the vials to theirs, as consigning to suffering. And thus, in fine, the early Trumpets, while heralding, in common with all the Vials, the downfall of a great Power, would differ from them in this that—while the Trumpets were marshalling the hosts that were to cast down old Rome, with a view, however hidden from themselves, to the setting up of a new One—the Vials, on the other hand, were only preparing for the sounding forth of the doom, *BABYLON IS FALLEN*.

Having now reached this point as regards the mutual relation of these visions, it would be hard to ignore one other point of comparison. We have seen how in Daniel's vision of the Fourth Empire (and to some extent also in the king's dream) there is a strongly marked character, both to begin with and end with—while there is left between these two states a transition passage wrapped in entire silence and darkness. In John's Apocalypse, on the other hand, the transition is distinctly marked. It is presented to us as an extensive eclipse of the entire political lights. And the information afforded by this simple view is far from small. For the transition *leads to* a state in which the Fourth Power appears for the first time, in the New Testament, in the very guise in which Daniel had introduced us to it—namely, as the persecuting ten-horned monster; while the state *from which* the

transition had sprung was to John, and is to us, a matter of simple history. And what should be the character of a transition *from* and *to* such points it cannot be very hard to divine.

Upon a review of the whole we ask two questions.

If the Fourth Trumpet do not point to a great political Eclipse—what does it point to?

And if that eclipse be not the one that took place at the fall of Imperial Rome—what one is it?

And, supposing that there is no real prediction in the case, whence came this marvellous correspondence of the pretended one with a fact so extraordinary and unique?

NOTE.—ROME IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

IN connection with this subject, it is well worth our while to take into account the relation to Rome of the whole New Testament—and that not territorially, but politically. Except, indeed, queen Candace, and the Rome-made rulers of the Herodian family, to which we may add Aretas, there is really no other government alluded to there. Thus, as the birth-place of Jesus was determined by the decree of the Emperor, so everything about his death, from the judgment hall to the sepulchre, was equally controlled. The cross itself was Roman. The Jewish plea for rejecting him was—"We have no king but Cæsar;" and the argument that moved Pilate—"If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend." One of the Lord's precepts is, "Render to Cæsar," &c.; one of his parables is taken from the circumstance of a Herod going to Rome to be made king; and one of his most solemn warnings from the cruel violence of Pilate.

And then his apostles. As to Peter, we have only to name Cornelius—and to remember how, in his epistle to those of the dispersion in certain of the Provinces, he bids them "submit to the king as supreme, and to governors as sent by him." As to John, it was Rome that sent him to Patmos, and Rome that was to fulfil his announcement of martyrdom to *Smyrna*. And as to Paul, and his relation to Rome—to tell all this

would be to recount the chief things in his life. He had only to say—"I am a Roman," "I appeal to Cæsar"—and everything was changed. And so wherever he goes, it is to meet with Rome in one shape or other. In Philippi the colony, everything is Roman to the letter. In Thessalonica the free city, with its *demus* and *politarchs*, everything is Greek; and yet even here the crime is—"These do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there is *another king*, one Jesus." In Ephesus, the Diana worshipper, peace is restored, because of the risk of being called in question by a Roman government, for the tumult of the day. If he traverses the Provinces "from Jerusalem and round about, even to Illyricum," fully purposing a journey into Spain, it is because of the international unity and security that Rome has introduced. Or if it be the sea that he enters upon, he wins the Roman governor in Cyprus and the chief man in Melita—and at last stands before Cæsar—pleads his cause in Roman fetters—is set at liberty—then sent to Rome again in chains—till he can say, "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand." As to his doctrine, it was the same as Peter's—"Let every soul be subject to the higher powers"—and this as written to the Christians of Rome. There were thus just two kingdoms that the first Christians knew anything about—the kingdom of Christ, and the kingdom of Rome; and these were the fourth, and the succeeding one, in Daniel's great vision.



Part II.

THE FULFILMENT.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST TRUMPET.

Fulfillment.

“THE first angel sounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth: and the third part of the earth was burnt up: * and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up.” (Rev. viii. 7.)

About the year A.D. 330, Constantine removed his seat of government from Rome to the city which bears his name. In 364 the brothers Valentinian and Valens “executed the solemn and final division of the Roman Empire”—the one taking the Western, the other the Eastern half. After a four months’ reunion under Theodosius, the separation was again recognized under his sons Arcadius and Honorius in 395; being made more definitely conclusive at the accession, in 425, of Valentinian III., as Emperor of the West, when “the unity of the Roman government was finally dissolved. By a positive declaration the validity of all future laws was limited to the dominions of

* This clause, though not at present in our Version, undoubtedly belongs to the text, and cannot be omitted.

their peculiar author.”* The reasons for considering the Western Empire, after the division, as the true fourth kingdom have been already given.

Let us glance at the first indication of the fulfilment of the prophecy, in regard to what had then become the Roman Earth.

Hardly had the region which was to be visited been marked off, (that is, on the first occasion in 364) when the hail of the first Trumpet began to fall. The great German nation, or multitude known as the Allemanni, conceiving themselves to have been slighted on the accession of the new Emperor, set themselves to wipe out the insult.

“Before Valentinian could pass the Alps, the villages of Gaul were in flames; and before the enemy could be encountered, they had secured the captives and the spoil in the heart of Germany.” “In the ensuing year, the military force of the whole nation broke through the barrier of the Rhine, and not until they had cut off two Roman Counts was their progress checked by a “bloody and obstinate conflict that lasted a whole summer’s day.” And now the prudent Emperor, after this success, “instead of aspiring to the conquest of Germany, confined his attention to the laborious defence of the Gallic frontier against an enemy whose strength was renewed by a stream of daring volunteers, which incessantly flowed from the most distant tribes of the North.”

About the same time, in another quarter of the Empire, we find “the Barbarians of the land and sea, the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, breaking in upon the province of Britain, and spreading themselves with invincible fury from the wall of Antoninus to the shores of Kent;” the consequence being that, not till after the most horrid depredations, and when the two military commanders had been surprised and cut off, “the defence, or rather the recovery of Britain,” was effected by the appointment, to the chief command, of the ablest man in the Empire, the brave Theodosius. —Gibbon, vol. iv. pp. 278-299.

* GIBBON, *Decline and Fall*, vol. iv. p. 241; v. p. 137; vi. p. 7. We quote from the edition of 1783, in 12 vols.

But, notwithstanding all the precautions of Valentinian in fortifying the rudely-assailed provinces, his reign, generally prosperous as it was, was destined ere its close to witness another Barbarian inroad.

"The warlike tribe of the Quadi, having met with very base treatment at the hands of an insolent Roman officer, the Danube was crossed, and the whole province exposed to the rage of the exasperated Barbarians. They invaded Pannonia in the season of harvest, unmercifully destroyed every object of plunder which they could not easily transport, and either disregarded or demolished the empty fortifications." Two veteran legions, irresistible if united, were at last brought into the field, but, quarrelling about some point of honour, "they were surprised and slaughtered, and the success of the invasion provoked the emulation of the bordering tribes." By the appearance of Valentinian the province was at last saved, and the Barbarians forced to sue for mercy. But so exciting did the transaction prove to the Emperor that, in the course of it, he fell dead to the ground.—GIBBON, vol. iv. pp. 329, 599.

These, however, were but the mutterings of the coming storm. Let us observe how that gathered and broke. And this carries us away to the very east of Asia—where an "event had taken place, which falsified all the reasonable expectations that the Goths were now going to settle down as the allies of Rome, and changed the destinies of every country in Europe, from the Volga to the Straits of Gibraltar."*

The event was this:—The warlike nation of the Huns, against whom the great wall of China had been built in the 3rd century B.C., being at last completely beaten by the Chinese, was compelled to move toward the West. The nation now separated into two divisions—one settling to the east of the Caspian, and the other advancing west-

* HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. i. p. 81.

ward to the Don, where it scattered and broke the power of the formidable Alani. Of these last one body then moved toward the Baltic, associated themselves with the northern Germans, and, at a later period, shared with them the spoils of Gaul and Spain;—while the other and larger body of them combined with their conquerors, and united with them in the invasion of the Gothic Empire, which extended from the Euxine to the Baltic. The assault was irresistible, and the great body of the Ostrogoths (East Goths) submitted in despair to the dominion of the invaders. Another body, however, (of which more presently) sought security by moving in their turn toward the west. Meanwhile the chief of the Visigoths (West Goths), who had long been settled in the old Roman province of Dacia to the north of the Danube, began to take steps against the advancing enemy.

His measures were defeated by the alarm of his own people, who, to the number of some 200,000 fighting men (besides young and aged), appeared by the great river, and holding out their hands began with loud lamentations to implore the mercy of the Eastern Emperor. "The North was agitated, he was informed, by a furious tempest; the irruption of the Huns, an unknown and monstrous race of savages, had subverted the power of the Goths," and could the suppliants only be allowed to pass the river, they would approve themselves at once as the most faithful subjects, and valiant defendants of the Empire. The petition was granted; and "the most strenuous diligence was exerted by the officers of Valens, that not a single Barbarian of those who were *reserved to subvert the foundations of Rome* should be left on the opposite shore. According to probable testimony, this formidable emigration must have amounted to *nearly a million of persons!*"—GIBBON, vol. iv. pp. 371–383.

Shortly afterwards, the remains of the Ostrogoths appeared in the country thus abandoned, and, on being

denied the privilege which had been granted to the kindred tribe, at once crossed the Danube, and "boldly fixed a hostile and independent camp on the territories of the Empire."*

It now seemed as if, from the moment of admitting them within the Empire, it had been the one object of the government of Constantinople to turn these strangers into the most formidable enemies. They starved, they pillaged, they murdered, and, in all possible ways, abused them. They employed, in short, no means that could restrain, they neglected no crime that could provoke them.† The natural result was that the two Gothic nations combined in an attack upon the Eastern Empire. But that power was as weak in war as it had been insolent in peace. At the battle of Hadrianople the Emperor Valens was slain, and two-thirds of his army destroyed. No such disaster had befallen the Romans since the day of Cannæ. "And we, after the lapse of fifteen centuries, can perceive that, while the terrible disaster of Cannæ was reparable, the consequences of the battle of Hadrianople could never be repaired."‡

The Goths could now move where they would, to the south and west of the Danube, and from the walls of Constantinople to the foot of the Julian Alps. Nothing could withstand their ravages. From the exaggerated accounts of these by Jerome we may sufficiently glean the truth.

* GIBBON, vol. iv. p. 387.

† Sometimes a Goth had to sell a slave, or pay as much as £40 for a joint of meat.—HODGKIN.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 127.

"In these desert countries," says he, "there was left nothing but sky and earth. The cities being destroyed, and the human race extirpated, the land was overgrown with thick forests and inextricable brambles. And the universal desolation announced by Zephaniah was accomplished in the scarcity of beasts, birds and even fishes."—See GIBBON, vol. iv. p. 417.

Gratian, the son and successor of Valentinian, who was on his way to the assistance of his uncle Valens, had been detained for the defence of his own provinces by another irruption of the Allemanni, such as had cost his father so much trouble. He appeared at last in the East, and might now have added his uncle's dominions to his own ;

But "the modest youth felt himself unequal to the support of a sinking world. A formidable tempest of the Barbarians of Germany seemed ready to burst on the provinces of Gaul ;" and for the conduct of the Gothic war, there was, as on a former emergency, none to be found but Theodosius. By him the Goths were checked, but never expelled. They still occupied the northern parts of the Greek Empire. And this was the "*principal and immediate cause of the fall of the Western Empire of Rome.*"—GIBBON, vol. iv. p. 443.

Strange how it should have been thus with the Western not the Eastern. "It was the East" (as has been said by the learned and acute writer to whom we are at this stage so much indebted) "which—could a *prophet* have arisen to announce the impending ruin of one half of the Empire—would have seemed likely to fall the first sacrifice."* What then shall we think of the prophet who did appear, and did announce, as impending, *the unlikely* one of the two events ?

The death of Theodosius in 395, after a reign of sixteen years—and when he had governed for four months the

* HODGKIN, vol. i. p. 237.

two Empires reunited for that brief space—set the restless Goths at liberty once more. To resist them would have required the cordial union of both East and West, and this, guided by one like Stilicho the Vandal, whom Theodosius had constituted the guardian of his two sons, might have had great results. But the Eastern Empire was now under the power of a favourite, who hated and dreaded Stilicho more than he did the Barbarians. The two Empires were thus taught to behave not as allies but as enemies; and the infatuation of the East paved the way for the ruin of the West.

Among the Goths who had been fostered in the bosom and service of the Greek Empire, with the title now given them of *Foederati*, was the renowned Alaric, who had come to think that, his people having already fought Rome's battles long enough, it was time for them now to fight their own. As he was seeking a harvest for his ravages, treachery in the Imperial court threw open to him the doors of Thessaly and Greece. A few notices will show what sort of progress was that of the Gothic leader on this occasion.

The pass of Thermopylæ having been betrayed to him, "the fertile fields of Phocis and Boeotia were instantly covered with a deluge of Barbarians, who massacred the males of an age to bear arms, and drove away the beautiful females, with the spoil and cattle of the flaming villages." "The whole of Attica, from Cape Sunium to Megara, was blasted by his baneful presence, and Athens, in the words of a contemporary philosopher, resembled the empty and bleeding skin of a slaughtered victim." "Corinth, Argos, Sparta, yielded without resistance to his arms, and the most fortunate of the inhabitants were saved by death, from beholding the slavery of their families, and the conflagration of their cities."—GIBBON, vol. v. p. 180.

Such was the passage of Alaric through Greece ; and though the real fulfilment of the Trumpet lies elsewhere, yet is it important thus to know the man who became so prominent in that fulfilment, considering especially the extreme scantiness of our information in regard to his first invasion of Italy. It is important also to observe how, just when the ruin seemed coming on the East which was not in the prediction, it turned away from that, and found out the West which was.

As his reward for these exploits, Alaric is proclaimed king by the Visigoths ; and, as if this were not enough, the Court of Constantinople, out of gratitude for the devastation of its provinces, invests him with the dignity of *Master General of Illyricum* !

Alaric is not backward in employing his new authority, but immediately issues an order to the Imperial Magazines, and Manufactories, to provide him with an extraordinary supply of shields, helmets, swords and spears. And presently he declares his resolution of invading the dominions of the West.

Sooner than expected Alaric, like a second Hannibal, appeared in Italy. "The consternation of the Romans was extreme ; and already the Italians were deliberating (until Stilicho roused them to worthier thoughts) whether they should take to their ships, should flee to Corsica or Sardinia, or should *plant a new Rome on the banks of the Saone or the Rhone.*" (HODGKIN, vol. i. p. 285.) Of this invasion hardly any details are preserved to us. But we know that it consisted not of an army but a nation, and that it lasted about three years, commencing with a disastrous defeat of the Romans at Aquileia, and ending with what may be taken as his own defeat by Stilicho at Pollentia. But the victory was a dear one for the Romans, as we shall presently see.

Meanwhile, another commotion had arisen in the far East, destined to tell with terrible effect upon the fate of Rome. Another horde of Scythian warriors, retreating as the Huns had already done before *their* conquerors, now fell upon those of the Huns themselves who had sought a refuge to the north of the Caspian. These last were thus in their turn

propelled toward the West, "and the nation which retreated before them must have pressed with incumbent weight on the confines of Germany." And thus, "while Italy was rejoicing in the deliverance from the Goths, there arose a furious tempest among the Northern nations," which brought down an enemy no less unwelcome than the one that had departed. Rhodogast was the leader of "this mighty host, the strength of which was formed by the Vandals, Suevi, and Burgundians." The Alani added their cavalry to the German infantry; and so numerous were the Gothic adventurers, that the Barbarian Chief is sometimes called the King of the Goths. The fighting men of the company could not number less than two hundred thousand, and the multitude, when the camp followers are added, may have amounted to the double of that number. "From the same coast of the Baltic, from which had issued the Teutones and Cimbri, in the days of Rome's vigour, did this multitude pour forth to assault her in the days of her decline. And yet, so imperfect was the correspondence of nations in that age, that the revolutions of the North might escape the knowledge of the Court of Ravenna, till the dark cloud which was collected along the coast of the Baltic burst in thunder upon the banks of the Danube."—GIBBON, vol. v. p. 214.

Without resistance Rhodogast ("far the most savage," says Orosius, "of all the past or present enemies of Rome") crossed the Alps, the Po, and the Appenines, "pillaged and destroyed many of the Italian cities," and laid siege to Florence. But the skill of Stilicho prevailed again, Rhodogast was defeated and slain; and his vast host, reduced by a third, it is said, retraced its steps and marched towards Gaul. And now it turned out that the deliverance of Italy had been purchased at no less a cost than the ruin of the Provinces. For these having been drained of their defences by Stilicho, on the occasion of Alaric's approach, were thus exposed to the fury of the disappointed Barbarians, who "on the last day of the year 406, crossed the Rhine, and entered the defenceless provinces of Gaul. This memorable passage of the Suevi, the Vandals, the Alani, and the Burgundians, who never afterwards retreated, may be considered as the fall of the Roman Empire in the countries beyond the Alps, and the barriers which had so long separated the savage and the civilized nations of the Earth, were, from that fatal moment, levelled with the ground." "A scene of peace and plenty was suddenly changed into a desert; and the prospect of the smoking ruins could alone distinguish the solitude of nature from the desolation of man. The flourishing city of Mentz was surprised and destroyed; and many thousand Christians were inhumanly massacred in the church. Worms

perished, after a long and obstinate siege ; Strasbourg, Spire, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, experienced the cruel oppression of the German yoke, and the consuming flames of war spread from the banks of the Rhine over the greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul. That rich and extensive country, as far as the Ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the Barbarians, who drove before them in a promiscuous crowd the bishop, the senator, and the virgin laden with the spoils of their houses and their altars. So great, indeed, was the havoc that the ecclesiastics of the day even ventured to arraign the Divine justice which did not exempt from the *common destruction* the feeble, the guiltless, the infant portion of the human species." (Gibbon, vol. v. pp. 224-599.) Was not this like hail and fire mingled with blood, cast upon the earth ?

In the year following these calamities, Rome lost, through Imperial jealousy and courtly intrigue, the only man who had shown himself able to make head against the gathering storm. Stilicho, who had given first one daughter, then another, to the Emperor in marriage, is now given up by that Emperor into the executioner's hands.

"It is the last humiliation," says Gibbon, "of the character of Honorius, that posterity has not condescended to reproach him with his base ingratitude to the guardian of his youth, and the support of his empire."

And this suicidal act was only too consistently followed out. Had the object, indeed, of the Roman rulers been to give up their country bound hand and foot to the Goths, their measures could not have been more perfect.

The troops of which Stilicho had drained the provinces for the defence of Italy, having been alienated by these measures from the Roman interest, were prepared to join the next invader who should appear. Meanwhile, Alaric was not idle, and, in the same year in which Stilicho fell (408), "by bold and rapid marches he passed the Alps and the Po, hastily pillaged the cities of Aquileia, Altinum, Concordia, and Cremona, which yielded to his arms, increased his forces by the accession of thirty

thousand 'disaffected Imperial soldiers,' and, without meeting an enemy in the field, advanced to the edge of the marshes of Ravenna. But, instead of wasting his time there, he hurried forward to seize a nobler prize. Some years before this, Alaric had heard, or imagined, a voice proclaiming to him, *Penetrabis ad urbem*, and, under the strange impulse, he moved resistlessly on. At another time, a monk entered his tent, and tried to divert him from his course of spoliation. 'I am impelled to it in spite of myself,' he replied, 'something within urges me uncontrollably onwards, saying, Proceed to Rome, and make that city desolate.' Rome at this time contained a population which may be fairly estimated at 1,200,000. And now, to the dismay of all, Alaric appeared at its gates. A blockade was instantly commenced, the consequences of which can easily be imagined. Famine turned the city into one vast sepulchre, and from the unburied corpses pestilence sprang up, and walked abroad. The infatuated Romans, to impress Alaric with the difficulty of his undertaking, sent, in their presumption, to tell him how strong and how many they were. The Goth laughed aloud, and said, 'Thick grass is easier mowed than thin.' They then came to treat for peace. His terms were hard. 'What would he leave them?' he was asked. 'Your souls,' he answered. Alaric, however, was far from implacable, and he consented at length to what seems the very moderate ransom of 5000 pounds weight of gold, 30,000 of silver, 4000 silken tunics, 3000 hides dyed scarlet, and 3000 pounds of pepper."—(HODEKIN, i. p. 339-47.)

And now Alaric might have been the best friend and strongest support of Rome. No one hinted as yet—nor for two generations more—at making a Barbarian the ruler of Italy. Nor did Alaric ask for that; but he would have been guardian, champion, of the Empire. This was his ambition. And the people wished it, and urged it. There was just one insuperable obstacle, and that was the infatuation of the hopelessly imbecile Honorius crouching in his palace at Ravenna. Alaric had entered into an engagement with this miserable prince, in the hope of maintaining the Roman friendship. Honorius was faithless; and Alaric, mocked and insulted, after again and

again lowering his wonderfully moderate terms, was, in spite of himself, impelled a second time against the walls of Rome. The gates were at once thrown open, on the threat that the former act would be repeated. Still, Alaric had nothing but friendship to propose. And as nothing was to be hoped for from the wretched emperor, the Gothic king and the Romans agreed to choose a new one. For some months the experiment lasted. Then that broke down. Honorius was again supreme, and as insolent as ever. And what sealed the fate of Rome was that his chief minister had sworn—not by heaven or earth but—by the *imperial head* to make no peace with Alaric. The cup of Gothic indignation was now full. The third siege of the city took place (410). The barbarians rushed in, and

“The city, which had subdued and civilized so considerable a part of mankind, was delivered to the licentiousness of the tribes of Germany and Scythia.” “Even the writers most favourable to the Goths have freely confessed that a cruel slaughter was made of the Romans, and that the streets of the city were filled with dead bodies, which remained without burial during the general consternation. The despair of the citizens was sometimes converted into fury, and whenever the Barbarians were provoked by opposition, they extended the promiscuous massacre to the feeble, the innocent, and the helpless.”—GIBBON, vol. v. p. 314.

Alaric, after satiating himself with spoil, in a few days abandoned Rome, and “advanced into the southern provinces of Italy, destroying whatever dared to oppose his passage, and contenting himself with the plunder of the unresisting country.” For two years Italy had now been under his control; but he saw that, not in Italy, but in Africa must the question of real dominion be settled;

and so, with the view of crossing the sea, he advanced to Rhegium. Part of his army was already embarked, when both it and the fleet perished in a storm. Alaric still lingered on the shore, and looked towards Africa, but death came, and Rome had a new respite. For two years, indeed, his brother-in-law Adolphus maintained the same supremacy in Italy, after which he voluntarily withdrew into Gaul.

In turning to the western provinces of the Empire, we find that, between the contentions of usurpers, and the ravages of the Barbarians, their condition was, at this calamitous period, no better at least than that of Italy. In regard to Spain, the following sentences may suffice.

"About ten months before the sack of Rome, the gates of Spain were treacherously betrayed to the public enemy." "The mercenary guards of the Pyrenees" were tempted "to desert their station; to invite the arms of the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani, and to swell the torrent which was poured with irresistible violence from the frontiers of Gaul to the sea of Africa. The misfortunes of Spain may be described in the language of her most eloquent historian, who has concisely expressed the passionate, and perhaps exaggerated, declamations of contemporary writers. 'The irruption of these nations was followed by the most dreadful calamities, as the Barbarians exercised their indiscriminate cruelty on the fortunes of the Romans, and the Spaniards; and ravaged with equal fury the cities and the open country. The progress of famine reduced the miserable inhabitants to feed on the flesh of their fellow-creatures; and even the wild beasts, multiplying without control in the desert, were exasperated, by the taste of blood, and the impatience of hunger, boldly to attack and devour their human prey. Pestilence soon appeared, the inseparable companion of famine; a large proportion of the people were swept away; and the groans of the dying excited only the envy of their surviving friends. At length, the Barbarians, satiated with carnage and rapine, and afflicted by the contagious evils which they themselves had introduced, fixed their permanent seats in the depopulated country," quoting Mariana.—GIBBON, vol. v. p. 352.

Spain thus lost to the Romans, was, indeed, destined to a temporary restoration. But the honour that thus accrued to Honorius could contribute little to the happiness of the Province. For if it was so mercilessly ravaged on the occasion of its loss, it could hardly have suffered less on that of its recovery. Adolphus, the brother of Alaric's wife, was now the husband of Placidia, the Emperor's sister. And the Gothic multitude was, at length, on the most friendly terms with the Roman government. To recover Spain was an honour and a service worthy of such allies. At the commencement of the undertaking, Adolphus died, but in Wallia he had an efficient successor; and by him was the work achieved. The result is thus related :

“He exterminated the Silingi, who had irretrievably ruined the elegant plenty of the province of Boetica. He slew in battle the king of the Alani; and the remains of those Scythians who escaped from the field, instead of choosing a new leader, humbly sought a refuge under the standard of the Vandals, with whom they were ever afterwards confounded. The Vandals themselves, and the Suevi, yielded to the efforts of the invincible Goths. The promiscuous multitude of Barbarians, whose retreat had been interrupted, were driven into the mountains of Galicia, where they still continued, in a narrow compass, and on a barren soil, to exercise their domestic and implacable hostilities.”—GIBBON, vol. v. p. 357.

In regard to another province—that of Gaul—we have already seen the outburst of the great storm, the general result of which is easily told.

“Adolphus, assuming the character of a Roman general, directed his march, from the extremity of Campania, to the southern provinces of Gaul.” From this he soon passed over to the Western Coasts, and “the oppressed Provincials might exclaim that the miserable remnant which their enemy had spared, was cruelly ravished by their pretended allies.”—GIBBON, vol. v. p. 332.

After the reduction of Spain, Wallia, we find, obtained for his victorious Goths a settlement in the Gallic province of the second Aquitaine. About the same time, the Burgundians and Franks obtained like settlements in other quarters of the country, the result of all which is thus described :

“The ruin of the opulent provinces of Gaul may be dated from the establishment of these Barbarians, whose alliance was dangerous and oppressive, and who were capriciously impelled by interest or passion to violate the public peace. A heavy and partial ransom was imposed on the surviving Provincials, who had escaped the calamities of war ; the fairest and most fertile lands were assigned to the rapacious strangers, for the use of their families, their slaves, and their cattle ; and the trembling natives relinquished with a sigh the inheritance of their fathers.”—GIBBON, vol. v. p. 360.

How this work of havoc continued in the provinces of Gaul for many a year to come need not now be told. Enough to mention that the invitation sent to Attila by the Franks, in their struggle with the Goths, was a chief means of moving the terrible Hun to his work in the West.*

And going to another portion of the Empire—“Pannonia and Noricum,” we are told, “had been ravaged for above 20 years (counting back from 425) by a promiscuous crowd of Huns, Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Bavarians.”—GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 7.

While all this was in progress the hail and fire began to fall on another quarter. In the year 429 it reached the province of Africa ; and that, through the discord of two great generals, whose union might, for a time, have saved their country. Aetius at the court of Ravenna, as faithless as he was able, had accused of treason the noble-

* GIBBON, vol. vi. pp. 97-103.

hearted Boniface, governor of Africa—who, “slandered, outlawed, and hunted to the brink of destruction,”* invited, in his despair, the Vandals to cross over from Spain, and share Africa with him.

Vessels for their transport over the Straits of Gibraltar were eagerly furnished, both by the Spaniards who longed for their departure, and Boniface who sought their aid. And, in the year just mentioned, Genseric, who, since the commencement of the negotiations, had become chief of the Vandals, landed in Africa—Genseric—a man “who, in the destruction of the Roman Empire, has deserved an equal rank with the names of Alaric and Attila.” (GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 13.) “For fifty years, except during the short meteoric career of Attila, that man was the foremost figure in Europe.” “Till he arose, his nation, though willing to join in the great plundering expeditions of the North, can scarcely be said to have had the best of it in any encounter with an enemy. The nation on the whole seemed to be going to the wall, justifying the general impression that the Vandals were less warlike than their neighbours. . . . His nimble mind and unshaken courage proved to be the steel point needed to give penetrating power to the Vandal impact. He was cruel, not a doubt of it; his *lurid* deeds look ghastly by the side of the knightly career of Alaric or Adolphus.” “His ability must have been marvellous, when we find that, a century after his death, people still spoke of him as the cleverest man in Europe. The old chronicler (Jornandes) speaks of him as the man ‘most renowned in the world by his slaughter of the Romans, tempestuous in his wrath, full of far-reaching schemes for harassing the nations.’”—HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 246.

The Vandals, then, having entered Africa, were soon joined by the Moors; “and a crowd of naked savages rushed from the woods of Mount Atlas to satiate their revenge on the polished tyrants, who had injuriously expelled them from the native sovereignty of the land.”—GIBBON, *ib.* p. 16.

At the same time, large bodies of the Provincials had been alienated from Rome by the relentless bigotry called forth by the Donatist schism. “Three hundred bishops

* HODGKIN, vol. i. p. 242.

with many thousands of the clergy were torn from their churches, stripped of their professions, and banished." And, on similar principles, were the numerous congregations, in connection with the sect, treated. With such allies Genseric and his Vandals began their work; and "every barrier fell before their irresistible onslaught." Boniface, indeed, having discovered the treachery practised upon him, and having returned to his allegiance, was doing all that man could do to repair his error, and save his country; but in vain.

"Mauritania proved an easy conquest to the invader. Numidia and proconsular Africa (Algiers and Tunis) were next overrun. In a few months the whole country had met with the same fate, and only three cities remained which had not been sacked by the barbarians, Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo." To the last of these the Vandals soon laid siege—a siege ever memorable from its connection with the name of its bishop. For, amid all the tumult of that strife, the spirit of the great Augustine quietly passed away, as he was surrounded by his weeping brethren from all parts of the ruined country. At last, the Vandals gave up the siege—but, excepting Hippo and Carthage, Africa was in their hands. After a time, by a formal treaty signed at Hippo, the whole country was given up to them—with the exception of Carthage, and a narrow piece of the neighbouring territory. "That portion of the Empire was given to the Vandals to dwell in." Such is the significant statement of the annalist. This was in 435. Genseric was well satisfied with the bargain for the moment.—HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 247-52.

But he was soon at work again. Carthage* and its territory became his—and thus, ten years after his first invasion of it,

"the most important province of the West was lost, and the internal prosperity of Rome irretrievably destroyed by the separation of Africa."
—GIBBON, vol. vi. pp. 18, 145.

* "Carthage was, next to Rome, the greatest city in the Western Empire."—NIEBUHR, Lecture 149.

Thus did Genseric, within the ten years 429-439, wrench from Rome that great region with its seven fruitful provinces, extending over 90 days' journey, from Tangiers to Tripoli.

It had been "an orderly and quiet province, the beautiful land on every side seeming to smile on the stranger."* "And with this it was extremely populous; the inhabitants reserved a liberal subsistence for their own use, and the annual exportation, particularly of wheat, was so regular and plentiful that Africa deserved the name of the granary of Rome and of mankind."—GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 20.

It is of very special importance, as we shall see presently, that we note all this.

This takes us down to the year 439. The next great scene will open, for the West, in 451, having already been ten years in operation in the East. If it be needful to fill up the interval, we can find an example of the material for doing so, in the inroads of the northern strangers into our own Britain, which was then in progress.

But it is time to return to the continent of Europe, and glance at the passage through the provinces of the West of one more ruthless than even Genseric. It has been the custom, we are aware, to assign to Attila, his place in a subsequent Trumpet. But if, in the events already mentioned, we find a fulfilment of the first, then in his career the same thing appears. From the same quarter, and in the same style, for the same purpose, and at the same era, as the others, does Attila riot in the West. Nor is there any material difference betwixt him and them, unless it be that he surpassed them all in the measure of "hail, fire, and blood," that attended his progress—he being

* "Victor Vitensis" in HODGKIN.

emphatically called '*the scourge of God.*' What the course of this terrible man was, must be shortly told.

"In all their invasions of the civilized empires of the South," says Gibbon, "the Scythian shepherds have been uniformly actuated by a savage and destructive spirit." The only God, in fact, acknowledged by the Huns was a naked scymitar. "As the rightful possessor of this sword, Attila asserted his divine claim to the dominion of the Earth." It was in the year 441 that, after long torturing the Empire by suspense and alarm, he commenced his ravages; and "the whole breadth of Europe, as it extends above five hundred miles from the Euxine to the Hadriatic, was at once invaded, occupied, and desolated by the myriads whom he led into the field." But, as the fury of this first storm fell chiefly upon the Eastern empire, we cannot enter upon the details. Ten years afterwards, there is said to have come this message to the Princes in Ravenna and Constantinople. "Attila, *my* Lord and *thy* Lord, commands thee to provide a palace for his immediate reception." Shortly after which, at the joint invitation of the Franks and Vandals,* he resolved upon the invasion of Gaul, when "the kings and nations of Germany and Scythia, from the Volga, perhaps, to the Danube, obeyed his summons. From the royal village in the plains of Hungary, his standard moved towards the West; and, after a march of seven or eight hundred miles, he reached the conflux of the Rhine and the Neckar, where he was joined by the Franks; and the hostile myriads were poured with resistless violence into the Belgic provinces. The consternation of Gaul was universal; and the various fortunes of its cities have been adorned by tradition with martyrdoms and miracles." Here he was checked by the combined Romans and Goths, and if ever blood was spilt it was at the great battle of Châlons,† in which Attila was defeated, or at least obliged to retire, by Aetius. "But neither his spirit, forces, nor reputation, were impaired by the failure of the Gallic expedition;" and, in the ensuing spring, he passed the Alps, invaded Italy, and besieged Aquileia with an innumerable host of Barbarians. The Huns being unskilful in the operations of a siege, the lives of the Provincials were unmercifully sacrificed in thousands to supply the deficiency. The city was one of the richest, most populous, and strongest, on the Adriatic; and yet so complete was its destruction that "the next generation could

* GIBBON, vol. vi. pp. 98, 102.

† We keep the name, but it seems that the battle was fought some fifty miles from Châlons, near to Troyes, at Mery-sur-Seine.—HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 138.

hardly discover its ruins." After this dreadful chastisement, he pursued his march, and as he passed, the cities of Altinum, Concordia, and Padua, were reduced to heaps of stones and ashes. The inland towns Vicenza, Verona, and Bergamus, were exposed to the rapacious cruelty of the Huns. Milan and Pavia submitted, without resistance, to the loss of their wealth; and applauded the unusual clemency which preserved from the flames the public as well as private buildings, and spared the lives of the captive multitude." (GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 124.) "Over the rich plains of modern Lombardy these ravages extended." Soon after this Attila's life and empire came to an end.

Thus for fifty-seven years, from the death of Theodosius (395) to that of Attila (452), did this terrible hail fall on the Roman earth—never once, we may say, even intermitting, if the field be regarded in its entirety.

For the next twenty-four years, the events of the Second and Third Trumpets become the more prominent acts on the great stage. And yet, even during that period, the hail continues falling on one spot or another, with greater or less severity. There is nothing indeed calling for detail; and a general reference will suffice.

Thus, under the year 455 we read—"The deaths of Aetius and Valentinian had relaxed the ties which held the Barbarians of Gaul in peace and subordination. The sea coast was infested by the Saxons; the Alemanni and the Franks advanced from the Rhine to the Seine; and the ambition of the Goths seemed to meditate more extensive and permanent conquests." (GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 155.) And in the year following, the Gothic King Theodoric II., advancing into Spain, completely breaks the power of the Suevi in a great battle near Astorga; and, entering Braga their capital, "carried off vast numbers of men, women, and children into captivity, stripped the clergy naked, filled the holy places, as the old chronicle says, 'with horrors of horses, cattle, and camels,' and in fact repeated all the judgments which the wrath of God had suffered to fall on Jerusalem." (HODEKIN, vol. ii. p. 392.) Then, for the ten years from 462-472, the heading of our principal historian is—"Conquests of the Visigoths in Spain and Gaul."

It was during most of that time that Euric, having

assassinated his brother Theodoric, was reigning over the Visigoths. Again, we find in 464 the Alani invading Italy, when their king is routed and killed at Bergamo by Ricimer. And in 473 the Ostrogoths, having invaded Italy, are persuaded by the emperor to turn their arms against Gaul instead—

Which “helped to ruin yet more utterly the already desperate cause of Gallo-Roman freedom.” And, coming to the next Emperor in 474, “The only memorable events in the fourteen months’ reign of Julius Nepos are those which relate to the affairs of Gaul, that country which gave her first province to the Republic, and whose loyalty was the last jewel hacked from the fingers of the dying Empire.”*

We may now ask, in connection with all these events, if figures could more exactly portray the method employed by the all-ruling Providence for the overthrow of Imperial Rome? It is the mightiest thing on earth that has to be broken down; and now that agent among nature’s mightiest, the lightning itself, is employed to represent the destroying force. Associated with this, we find the black hail-cloud gathering all around and above, sweeping along as on the wings of the whirlwind, rushing down, and mercilessly pelting whatever growing or living thing comes in its way, till the appointed measure of havoc is complete. And, as it is the very nature of the hail-storm to gather, and burst, and clear away, and gather, and burst again, so in that respect also the correspondence is perfect.†

* HODGKIN, vol. ii. pp. 493, 6.

† We shall not repeat a story of certain monstrous hail as quoted by Bishop Newton from a chronicler. But it is worth while noting, in illustration of the *figure* ‘hail,’ that the poet Claudian uses the same, as descriptive of those Gothic irruptions which were taking place before his own eyes,—‘They rush precipitous, after the fashion of hail, whithersoever the Fury impels them.’

And whether, finally, there has been a sufficient mixture of native blood with these foreign elements, the reader has also to pronounce.

We have now reached within two years of the end, but ere that came there was still another hail shower which, short and slight as it may seem, when viewed from this distance, had yet an influence more immediately decisive than any of the preceding, with all their severity. All those, heavy and black as we can see them to have been, had shaken and stripped, but not brought down the Imperial fabric. This one, too slight to have even shaken, was, as the complement of the others, sufficient to prostrate. The building was tottering; another blow, and it fell. It is true that the confederate Barbarians in Rome's service, from whom the blow came, had been for two generations past the very stay of the falling Empire. But that could not hinder them from becoming, when thwarted, enemies as powerful. And this is what now takes place. For, coming down to the fatal year 476 (of which various antecedents under the other Trumpets have yet to be told), Orestes, a distinguished general, is holding the Imperial government in the capacity of Patrician, or viceroy for his helpless son Augustulus. In that year, these confederates, casting an envious eye on the superior fortune of their brethren in the provinces, naturally think that their own might be improved—

And so, presenting themselves before the Patrician, they make the demand, which to them seemed just and moderate—that *one-third of the lands of Italy be assigned to them, as their inheritance*. The demand was, of course, rejected—upon which the bold Odoacer stepped forward

with the proposal—"Associate yourselves under my leadership, and you shall soon extort the justice that has been denied to your dutiful petitions." The bargain was struck, and no sooner had the summons gone forth, than from all the camps and garrisons of Italy, the confederates came flocking to the standard of their new leader. On the twenty-third of August, Odoacer was raised upon the shield as Alaric had been, eighty-one years before—yes, and to do at last the very work which Alaric had so nearly done, but from which he had always shrunk. And now, in twelve days, that work was over.—HODGKIN, vol. ii. pp. 533-599; and GIBBON vi. p. 223.

This was the end of the fire and hail, mingled with blood; and it was the end of the Roman Empire also. But there is in connection with it one peculiar circumstance, bearing so remarkably on the Fourth Trumpet that we reserve the notice of it till we come to that.

We are anticipating, of course, as already noticed, the train of events. For both the Second and Third Trumpets have yet to sound; and if this be made an objection to us, the answer is at hand—It is the simple logic of facts that we are aiming to follow, and we cannot control it. The two other Trumpets were also wanted; and without them there had been no such issue to the first. Still, if the Empire fell under what really was *hail* and *fire*, we are not at liberty to shut our eyes, and ignore the fact, whatever may have intervened before the final outburst of the storm. Is it still objected that the First Trumpet has no right to such a forward place in the drama? The objection is a bold one; for it is hard to say what anticipations and retrospections, overleapings and interweavings, there may not be in a prophetic roll like this. We might not perhaps have expected to find the third of Daniel's Four Beasts occupying the place which it does, *when it had only*

some twelve years to act in the leopard-like style represented, and when for centuries the Fourth had been already doing the very work which it seems should properly have *followed* that of the Third. This might have appeared disjointed and incongruous. Its justification is simply in the fact that, upon the whole, and regarded as a supreme dominion, the Roman Power did succeed the Greek. So, in the present case, the fact must overrule all objections like the one supposed. And being shut up to this, as the only sound view, that the First Trumpet, as representing the Barbarian attacks under the figure of hail, presents both the primary and the ultimate means of the fall of Rome—whilst it leaves, at the same time, ample room for the presentation of any auxiliary means by the Second and Third Trumpets—we are led by the same path to some conclusions of cardinal moment in regard to the details of the Trumpet scene.

Thus, *e.g.* "All green grass was burned up"—not all grass, as already remarked on, nor a third part of any sort of grass, but simply "*all green grass.*" Now that grass is a Scriptural emblem of *population* we have sufficiently seen. And that *green* grass will stand for people in some peculiarly important, and privileged respect, we are prepared to find. What grass, then, in the world ever was so green as that of the Roman citizenship—that most mighty and majestic *populus Romanus*? But when the Empire fell, all this, of course, ceased. As soon as there came an end to the *State* (*civitas*), no one could any longer say, *Civis Romanus sum*. And if, to some extent,

titles were still allowed and used, yet were they only titles. The grass was no longer green.*

But now, if the green grass thus aptly represents Roman citizenship, and the entire burning of it up depicts the catastrophe which came upon that, under the last of the Barbarian assaults—then we seem to find an equally fitting counterpart to the trees in the individually prominent Roman *senators*. None certainly, according to the Scripture usage of the figure ‘tree,’ can show an equal claim to be thus designated. It would be hard, of course, to prove that of these there became extinct, under the great burning, just a third part; nor should such a thing be demanded. It never was intended that such an expression should be taken thus *arithmetically*.

That the Senate did not then come to an end is a fact in history, just as it is a marked feature in the prophecy that the trees are not all burnt up. But it is also historically clear that, as the Empire fell, there must have been a great reduction in the number of senators—that is, of men fit to occupy the position. And there is one very striking fact besides, which, while it cannot be taken by itself as determining the proportion, still throws as much light upon it as could be looked for.

“The senators who might support with patience the ruins of their country, bewailed their private loss of wealth and luxury. *One third of*

* Another view of the matter, closely allied to this, is well worthy of regard. “The spirit of freedom lived only in the army, which was the last representative of the Roman people.” (*Times*, August, 1880, on HODGKIN’S *Italy and Invaders*.) Hence, if the *Roman* army perished, as it certainly did, through the Barbarian invasions, the *free Roman people* perished with it.

those ample estates, to which the ruin of Italy is originally imputed, was extorted for the use of the conquerors." . . . But "since the senators" (to whom the estates belonged) "desired to live, they owed some gratitude to the tyrant who had spared their lives."—GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 236.

Such is the historical picture; and yet this, though the last, was not the first, of such transactions. For "the rapacious Vandals had already confiscated the patrimonial estates of senators."—*Ibid.*, p. 145.

Say, then, amid all these ruins of property, of how many proprietors must not the dignity also have passed away! Since so many were content to retain their lives, how many must have lost all that they had besides! That these amounted to one third of the whole we may not, and need not, pronounce. But, taking this as a sample of the great mass of degradation that then came on Imperial Rome, we are surely entitled to use it as an important commentary on the declaration before us, and as a fair index—in a general, but very practical way—to what befel the time-honoured company of Roman senators.

And now as to the still greater point, "The third part of the Earth was burnt up." The sort of fulfilment that we have to look for has been already indicated. What, then, of the fact? Did any such proportion of the Roman earth come, at that time, into a state that can be thus described? We answer, yes. The Province of Africa had every right to be spoken of as a third part of the Western Empire. And that province was truly burnt up. It then ceased, as no other part of that Empire did, to be Roman any more. "The most important Province of the West was lost." It first fell to the Vandals, then to the Greeks, then to the Saracens. Yes, it may be said, *and did not all the other provinces in the same way, fall*

to their invaders? True, but not one of them ceased to be Roman, *as Africa did*. They all returned to a close partnership with Rome—however different the new relationship from the old. Africa never did. In regard to them, as the two thirds that were spared, Roman life had the predominance. Of Africa, as the one-third burnt up, Roman *death* was the lot. And if such be the meaning of this point, then we can see in it a marvellous harmony with the great subject of the Fourth Trumpet. For if the Roman Sun *there* loses by eclipse *one* third of its light, and retains *two*—though really *seeming* at the time to have quite lost the whole—so *here* the Roman Earth loses, by fire, one third part, while two parts are saved—though to all appearance the actual whole was burnt up, and Roman no more.

Nothing, in short, in all these Trumpets utterly perishes, except the green grass. The Earth and chief men in the First lose only a third. So with the ruling powers in the Fourth. It is surely, then, a very remarkable circumstance—with all these symbols on the one hand, and facts on the other—that the one thing which absolutely comes to an end is—*Roman citizenship*.

CHAPTER II.

SECOND TRUMPET.

Fulfilment.

“AND the second angel sounded, and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea: and the third part of the sea became blood: and the third part of the creatures which were in the sea, and had life, died; and the third part of the ships were destroyed.” (Rev. viii. 8, 9.)

That this is nothing else than the nation of the Vandals, as animated and employed by Genseric, in his maritime operations, seems extremely clear. When entering upon his African work indeed, he seems just to take his place among the rest of the original invaders from the North, as forming, equally with them, a portion of the dark hail clouds. But none of all these occupied one single sphere, and for an unbroken decade of years, like Genseric—so that he has, at the end of that term, developed from the loose form of hail into one considerably different—one of a more individual, compact, and continuous kind. And, though we are certainly not bound to find in him the burning mountain, previously to his action on the sea—yet is it none the less a very striking circumstance that we do find this remarkable man actually presenting such appearance, antecedently to that action—thus giving a



double emphasis to the word, "*And, as it were, a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea.*"

Now surely, the natural and ordinary course for Genseric, after the conquest of Africa, would have been to maintain himself in his new position; or, if ambitious of further conquest, to turn his eyes southward, or to Egypt. But no—he seems to have no quarrel but with Rome, no commission but against it. And so he will have the dominion of the sea. As he has already shut the Romans out of the African land—out of a third part of their whole dominion—he will now shut them out of the very sea that leads to it. He will make that third part of the great deep to be, as it were, not water to invite them, but blood to repel. It was a bold resolve, but it was put into his mind, and he carried it out. He, with his Vandal people, was indeed, "as it were, a great burning mountain cast into the sea." Let us see how.

It was in 439 A.D., that the land-work of Genseric was complete;

and "no sooner were the docks and harbours of Hippo and Carthage in his power, than he, the leader of a tribe of inland Barbarians, who had himself been indebted to the friendly offices of Boniface for the transport of his people across the straits of Gibraltar"—"casting his eyes towards the sea, and resolving to create a naval power" (GIBBON)—"turned all his energies to shipbuilding, and soon possessed incomparably the most formidable fleet in the Mediterranean." (HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 254.) "The woods of Mount Atlas afforded an inexhaustible nursery of timber; his new subjects were skilled in the arts of navigation and shipbuilding; he animated his daring Vandals to embrace a mode of warfare which would render every maritime country accessible to their arms; the Moors and Africans were allured by the hopes of plunder; and after an interval of six centuries, the fleets that issued from the ports of Carthage again claimed the empire of the Mediterranean."—GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 146.

Thus was the burning mountain hurled into the sea. And, as specimens of its first operations, we read that

"The success of the Vandals, the conquest of Sicily, the sack of Palermo, and the frequent descents on the coast of Lucania, awakened and alarmed the court of Ravenna." "Alliances were formed, and armaments, expensive and ineffectual, were prepared for the destruction of the common enemy." Meanwhile, the "burning mountain" moved busily about for the 37 years that Genseric still lived. Thus, "after nearly six centuries of quiet submission, the name of Carthage again became terrible to the dwellers by the Tiber;" and by this Vandal were "deadlier blows struck at Rome than ever were dealt by Hamilcar or Hannibal."—HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 255.

Conspicuous among these operations, under this prince of pirates, was the sack of Rome in 455 A.D., which was really a naval, not a military business.

Sack—for there was no siege, no fighting, no burning, no killing, no destroying—only pillaging, and stowing away, in the Vandal ships, of the treasures of Rome. Ships, in short, did the whole—the men lent only the hands to carry. For fourteen days the work went on, the city being subjected to a "leisurely, and unhindered, examination and extraction of its wealth. The gold, the silver, and the copper were carried away from the Imperial Palace, and stored with business-like thoroughness in the Vandal galleys." And so it fared with churches and temples. But Genseric "waged no war on architecture in Rome, being far too well employed in storing away gold, and silver, and precious stones, and all manner of costly merchandize, in these insatiable hulks which were riding at anchor by Ostia."

Among these spoils were found at Carthage, in the next century, in the palace of Genseric's great-grandson, on the fall of the Vandal monarchy, the sacred vessels of the Jewish temple brought to Rome by Titus—"with countless other treasures, golden saddles, golden carriages for the ladies of the court, hundreds of thousands of talents of silver, and all kinds of ornaments inlaid with precious stones."—*Ibid.*, pp. 285, 286.

If such, we may remark, was Roman merchandize, we can imagine what Roman merchants were, and Roman ships.

Five years after this (460) there was made a grand

effort to crush the Vandal power, and recover Africa for the Empire. In Majorian Rome then possessed an emperor worthy of her best days ; but he had no fleet with which to undertake the enterprise, and so there was no alternative but, like Genseric, to create one.

“ In the first Punic war the republic had exerted such incredible diligence, that, within sixty days after the first stroke of the axe had been given in the forest, a fleet of one hundred and fifty galleys proudly rode at anchor in the sea. Under circumstances much less favourable, Majorian equalled the spirit and perseverance of the ancient Romans. The woods of the Apennine were felled ; the arsenals and manufactories of Ravenna and Misenum were restored ; Italy and Gaul vied with each other in liberal contributions to the public service ; and the Imperial navy of three hundred large galleys, with an adequate proportion of transports and smaller vessels, was collected in the secure and capacious harbour of Carthagera in Spain. Genseric now saw the peril of his situation, and every hour his applications for peace became more submissive.” But Majorian, in the spirit of his fathers, was determined to humble Carthage. Genseric, distrusting his native subjects, had even planned and “ executed the desperate measure of turning Mauretania into a desert ;” although “ this could not defeat the operations of the Emperor, who was at liberty to land his troops on any part of the coast.” But now, when reduced to such extremities, “ Genseric was saved from impending and inevitable ruin by the treachery of some powerful subjects, envious or apprehensive of their master’s success. Guided by their secret intelligence, he surprised the unguarded fleet in the Bay of Carthagera ; many of the ships were sunk, or taken, or burnt ; and the preparations of three years were destroyed in a single day.”—GIBBON, vol. vi. pp. 179–182.

Genseric was again master of the sea.

“ In the spring of each year, the Vandals equipped a formidable navy in the port of Carthage ; and Genseric himself, though in a very advanced age, still commanded in person the most important expeditions. His designs were concealed with impenetrable secrecy, till the moment that he hoisted sail. When he was asked by his pilot, what course he should steer ; ‘ Leave the determination to the winds (replied the Barbarian, with pious arrogance) ; they will transport us to the guilty coast, whose inhabitants have provoked the divine justice :’ but if Genseric himself

deigned to issue more precise orders, he judged the most wealthy to be the most criminal. The Vandals repeatedly visited the coasts of Spain, Liguria, Tuscany, Campania, Lucania, Bruttium, Apulia, Calabria, Venetia, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, and Sicily; they were tempted to subdue the island of Sardinia, so advantageously placed in the centre of the Mediterranean; and their arms spread desolation, or terror, from the columns of Hercules to the mouth of the Nile. As they were more ambitious of spoil than of glory, they seldom attacked any fortified cities, or engaged any regular troops in the open field. But the celerity of their motions enabled them, almost at the same time, to threaten and to attack the most distant objects which attracted their desires; and as they always embarked a sufficient number of horses, they had no sooner landed, than they swept the dismayed country with a body of light cavalry.”—GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 187.

To rescue Italy and the Mediterranean from the Vandalic pirates still another effort was made. The Eastern Empire which had so long regarded, with indifference if not satisfaction, the calamities of the West was at last aroused to its succour;

“and Genseric, who had so long oppressed both the land and the sea, was at last threatened from every side with a formidable invasion.”

The Eastern Emperor put forth all his strength; Anthemius the Western did what he could; and with these was now allied the extremely able Marcellinus who, in disgust at the late proceedings in Rome, had been governing Dalmatia, as an independent province.

The great expedition, which sailed from Constantinople, consisted of some 1,100 ships with 100,000 men on board—having cost not less than five and a half millions sterling—the command of it being given to Basiliscus, brother of the Eastern Empress.

Such were the preparations; now for the performance.

“Marcellinus sailed to Sardinia, and expelled the Vandals from that island. Heraclius, another Byzantine general, made a successful descent on Tripolis, took the cities of the Vandals in that region, and marched from thence, westwards to the city of Carthage.”

“*Basiliscus*, meanwhile,’ in the words of *Procopius*, ‘with his whole force, sailed for a town about thirty-five miles from Carthage, called *Mercurion*; and if he had not with evil purpose lingered at that place, but had at once commenced his march to Carthage, he would have taken the city at the first shout, annihilated the strength of the Vandals, and reduced them to slavery; so thoroughly was *Genseric* now alarmed at the irresistible might of the Emperor *Leo*, who had taken from him *Sardinia* and *Tripolis*, and had sent against him such an armament under *Basiliscus*, as all men said the Romans had never fitted out before. All this was now hindered by the general’s procrastination, which was due either to cowardice or treachery. Profiting by the supineness of *Basiliscus*, *Genseric* armed all his subjects as well as he could, and put them on board troopships. Other ships, fast-sailers, and carrying no soldiers, he held in reserve. Then sending ambassadors to *Basiliscus* he begged for a delay of five days, pretending that if this were granted him he would consider how he might best comply with the wishes of the Emperor. And some say that he sent a large sum of money to the host in order to purchase this armistice. He devised this scheme in the expectation which was justified by the event, that in the meantime a wind would spring up which would be favourable to his purposes. *Basiliscus* then, either in obedience to the recommendation of *Aspar*, or as having been bribed to grant this truce, or because he really believed that it would be better for the army, stayed quietly in his camp waiting the convenience of the enemy. But the Vandals, as soon as ever the wind arose which they had been patiently expecting, unfurled their sails, and, taking the empty ships in tow, sailed against the enemy. As soon as they came near they set the empty ships on fire, and sent them with bellying sails full against the anchorage of the Romans. The ships of the latter, being tightly packed together in the quarter to which the fire-ships were directed, soon caught fire, and readily communicated it to one another.

“When the fire was thus kindled, great terror naturally seized the Roman host. Soon, the whistling of the wind, the roar of the fire, the shouts of the soldiers to the sailors, and of the sailors to the soldiers, the strokes of the poles with which they strove to push off the fire ships or their own burning companions, created a wild hubbub of discordant noises. And now were the Vandals upon them, hurling javelins, sinking ships, or stripping the fugitive soldiers of their armour.

“With this the war was ended, more than half the fleet and army being lost.”—*HODGKIN*, vol. ii. pp. 455–458.

The burning mountain had now done its work. The third part of the earth—if that was Africa—was not recovered, and the third part of the sea had become much like blood to the Romans.

We must not suppose, however, from all this that Genseric had everything his own way in his dealings with Rome. Such an amount of good fortune was not required by the prediction. It was not the whole sea that was to become blood, nor all ships that were to be destroyed. Accordingly, we find the Vandals suffering severely more than once. Thus we have Ricimer destroying on the coast of Corsica a Vandal fleet of sixty galleys—the victory being one which brought him the title of ‘Deliverer of Italy,’ and which, for years, saved both Italy and Gaul from the fear of another regular invasion. (GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 166 and HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 403.) So Majorian, before his great disaster, had some success in this line.

“A fleet of Vandals and Moors landed at the mouth of the Siris or Garigliano; but the Imperial troops surprised and attacked the disorderly Barbarians, who were encumbered with the spoils of Campania; they were chased with slaughter to their ships, and their leader the king’s brother-in-law was found in the number of the slain.”

And of the noble Marcellinus we read, antecedently to the exploit which preceded the great catastrophe just related—that

Having occupied the province of Dalmatia, he “built a fleet which claimed the dominion of the Adriatic, and alternately alarmed the coasts of Italy and of Africa.”—GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 185.

Thus it would not have been true if it had been said, as of the green grass, that *all ships were destroyed*.

CHAPTER III.

THIRD TRUMPET.

Fulfilment.

“AND the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters; and the name of the star is called Wormwood: and the third part of the waters became wormwood; and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter.” (Rev. viii. 10, 11.)

In now seeking for the fulfilment we shall suppose a passage in the history to run thus—There was in Italy at that time a man of the most brilliant reputation. As for rank and influence, he was the real head and support of the Western Empire, having, under the title of Patrician, acted for twenty years as regent for a *fainéant* Emperor.* And as for achievements, Europe is indebted to him till this day for the defeat of a barbarian, whose success would have been the most deplorable event of the age. So brightly, indeed, did this hero shine, whether personally, or by comparison, that he has come to be spoken of as *the last of the Romans*—the man who gained the last Roman victory. But, at the same time, he breathed a

* “In chronicles he is also called *Dux Romanorum*, being acknowledged as the real sovereign of the empire.”—NIEBUHR—Lect. 150, Rom. Hist.

spirit which was bitterness itself. For in all history there is nothing sadder than the manner in which he sought to understand the character and life of another man—the plot of the day whose name and importance approached to his own. And the plot, although eventually failing in its direct object, had no less disastrous a result than the irremediable loss of the most valuable portion of the Empire. At length, as the reward of all his services, he was, in the course of some petty altercation, murdered by his worthless sovereign:—the sentiment was excited by the event at no distant epoch, being that, with this distinguished man, the entire people fell. And now from that day onward the history of the Empire till its close is the record of bitterness. The period might aptly be called the ‘*Wormwood Era*.’ Such, indeed, were the immediate consequences of the fall of this brilliant man, that all the springs of government, and the streams, to a large extent, of political life, seemed as if poisoned by some element of unusual bitterness. The community was filled with distress, and multitudes of lives were sacrificed to the spirit of confusion that reigned on every side.

Suppose, we say, such a narrative written;—and what would it be but the most legitimate expansion of the words, “*There fell a great star,*” &c.?

Now such a narrative has been written, and *AETIUS** is the hero of it. It is he who, by the last Roman victory—

* From what we have seen above of the significance of ‘*Star*,’ it would not be out of order to consider the Emperor himself as here indicated. He fell, which so soon followed, brought with it sufficient bitterness; and *officially* he might be represented as ‘*like a lamp*.’ But the reference to *Aetius* seems incomparably preferable.

the defeat of Attila at Châlons—saved Europe from the loathsome oppression of the Huns, and gained for himself more of the world's regard than any other man of his time.

"The Barbarians who had seated themselves in the Western provinces were insensibly taught to respect the faith and valour of the Patrician Aetius. He soothed their passions, consulted their prejudices, balanced their interests, and checked their ambition. A seasonable treaty which he concluded with Genseric protected Italy from the depredations of the Vandals; the independent Britons implored and acknowledged his salutary aid; the Imperial authority was restored and maintained in Gaul and Spain; and he compelled the Franks, and the Suevi, whom he had vanquished in the field, to become the useful confederates of the republic."—GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 91.

And then, as to his bitterness, that too is as manifest as his bravery. It was he who traduced and ruined Boniface, and, by driving that noble man to despair, occasioned the loss of—Africa.*

And now at his fall, so sudden and dreadful, the world came to shudder, just as by his brilliancy it had so long been dazzled. Let us attend to the story.

The death of Attila and the dissolution of his empire was a fortunate event for the Romans; and so it was improved by the Emperor of the East. "But the feeble and dissolute Valentinian, who had reached his thirty-fifth year without attaining the age of reason or courage, abused this apparent security, to undermine the foundations of his own throne by the murder of the patrician Aetius. From the instinct of a base and

* Speaking of these two men, Niebuhr says,—“Neither of them could supplant the other, without bringing about the downfall of the Empire. . . . Aetius was an extraordinary man, whom the rulers ought to have let alone, as the Athenians should have done with Alcibiades; but he was by no means of an unblemished character; he was unjust and hostile towards Boniface, a circumstance which brought great misery upon the Empire.” Lecture 149 on Roman History. The reader will perceive the value of this comparison with Alcibiades, the man pre-eminent, in all antiquity, for the combination of brilliancy and bitterness.

jealous mind, he hated the man who was universally celebrated as the terror of the barbarians, and the support of the republic." A circumstance soon furnished the temptation which the Emperor seemed to seek. Aetius had been urging, perhaps with undue warmth, the promised marriage of his son with the Emperor's daughter, when "Valentinian drawing his sword, the first sword he had ever drawn, plunged it in the breast of a general who had saved his Empire. His courtiers and eunuchs ambitiously struggled to imitate their master; and Aetius, pierced with a hundred wounds, fell dead in the royal presence." Now see what followed. "Boethius the Prætorian prefect was killed at the same moment, and before the event could be divulged, the principal friends of the Patrician were summoned to the palace, and separately murdered." "The public contempt that had so long been entertained for Valentinian was at once converted into deep and universal abhorrence. Such sentiments seldom pervade the walls of a palace, yet the Emperor was confounded by the honest reply of a Roman, whose approbation he had not disdained to solicit, 'I am ignorant, sir, of your motives; I only know that you have acted like a man who cuts off his right hand with his left.'" (GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 137-9.) And so the old chronicler, about half a century later, writes—"With Aetius fell the whole Hesperian realm, nor has it hitherto been able to raise itself up again;"—upon which the modern historian (HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 219) remarks—"We seem, in the faded chronicle, to read almost the very words of Shakespeare—

'O, what a fall was there, my countrymen!
Then I, and you, and all of us fell down,
Whilst bloody treason flourished over us.'"

If, then, it appeared that the trumpets of the *hail*, and the *burning mountain*, were realized in the barbarian assaults upon Rome, what can be more fit than to regard the fall of the *blazing star*, as fulfilled in the tragic end of its distinguished protector and governor?

And what were the consequences of this deplorable event? Such a state of things, we answer, that, for the remaining twenty-two years of Imperial Rome, no fitter title could be imagined than the one just suggested. Let us run over the most pertinent points of the history.

The murder of Aetius in the last year of his reign (454)

had been "the first *act* of Valentinian;"* and within a few months (March 455), Valentinian himself, together with his favourite minister, fell under the daggers of two of the domestics of Aetius; and that, at a military spectacle, without a hand being raised in his defence. Thus came to an end the imperial line of Theodosius, after reigning in the West sixty-one, and in the East seventy-four years.

Let us here listen to the verdict of an impartial judge as to the character which the Roman government had contracted at this date.

"The fall of the Western Empire was now announced by a clearer omen than the flight of vultures: the *Roman government* appeared every day less formidable to its enemies, *more odious and oppressive to its subjects*. The taxes were multiplied with the public distress; economy was neglected in proportion as it became necessary; and the injustice of the rich shifted the unequal burden from themselves to the people, whom they defrauded of the *indulgences* that might sometimes have alleviated their misery. The *severe inquisition*, which *confiscated their goods* and *tortured their persons*, compelled the subjects of Valentinian to *prefer the more simple tyranny of the Barbarians*, to fly to the woods and mountains, or to embrace the *vile and abject condition of mercenary servants*. They *abjured and abhorred the name of Roman citizens*, which had formerly excited the ambition of mankind." "If all the barbarian conquerors had been annihilated in the same hour, their total destruction would not have restored the Empire of the West; and if Rome still survived, she survived the loss of freedom, of virtue, and of honour."—GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 143.

Thus sprang, and rushed out, the embittered waters.
Let us see how they continued their course.

* "The thing, scarce man, Placidia's fatuous son,
Butchered Aetius."

Thus wrote the most distinguished litterateur of the age (Sidonius Apollinaris, in HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 220.)

Valentinian was succeeded by Petronius Maximus—one of the wealthiest and noblest of Roman senators, whose reputation for virtue and capacity, arising from a long and honourable course of public service, had been of the highest order.

“Three times he had been Praetorian Prefect, twice Consul, besides attaining to the rank of Patrician. And with all this he still enjoyed a competent measure of leisure and tranquillity.” But the day of his elevation was the last day of his happiness, ‘he was imprisoned (as Sidonius has it) in the palace,’ and, after a sleepless night, sighed that he had attained the summit of his wishes, and aspired only to descend from the dangerous elevation. It was the lot of Damocles, as he expressed it—but then, instead of ending with the one day, it was the only experience of his life now. That life, however, did not last long. About seventy days of emperorship were all that he suffered of it, “His hours, once regulated by a water clock, but of which he had now lost the command, were disturbed by remorse, or guilt, or terror, and his throne was shaken by the seditions of the soldiers, the people, and the confederate Barbarians.” (GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 149.) “His mingled harshness and feebleness, both misplaced, soon earned for him the execration of his subjects.” But the end was at hand—“an end quick, bitter, and unlooked for, the last perfidious stroke of fortune which had long fawned upon the man, and now suddenly turned, and stung him to death as with a scorpion’s tail.”—SIDONIUS IN HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 225.

And how did the end come? Bitterly indeed. Not content with receiving into his friendship the murderers of Valentinian, and thus incurring grave suspicion of his own participation in the act—

he now forced the widowed Empress Eudoxia “to cease her mourning for Valentinian whom, notwithstanding his many infidelities, she fondly loved, and to become his wife; compelling her also to bestow the hand of one of her daughters on his son.”

Eudoxia in her 34th year, and one of the loveliest women of her time—daughter, niece, and wife of emperors—

writhed under the shame of her alliance with the elderly official, whom she, like others, perhaps more than suspected of being an accomplice in the Emperor's death. At last—and yet the whole was only a matter of a few weeks—she could bear it no longer, and, “in her rage and despair,” she sent to Genseric for help*—with what results we have already seen.

Just two results more need be mentioned. One of them was that, after the landing of Genseric at Ostia,

“no sooner did Maximus appear in the street than he was assaulted with a shower of stones.” (GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 151.) “Then the smouldering indignation of all classes against the man, whom they deemed the author of the coming misery, burst forth. The Imperial domestics tore their new master limb from limb, and after dragging the ghastly fragments through the city, scattered them into the Tiber, so that not even the rites of burial might be granted by any one to Petronius Maximus.” (HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 228.) This was one of the results; and here is the other.—“Eudoxia, who went out to meet the Vandal king, was stripped of her jewels, and, with her two daughters, the only survivors of the great Theodosius, compelled as a captive to follow the haughty Barbarian, who immediately hoisted sail and returned to Carthage. Nor was it these only who had then to suffer. Many thousand Romans of both sexes, chosen for their useful or agreeable qualifications, were forced into Genseric's fleet—after the fashion of a Jewish captivity under the

* GIBBON (vol. vi. p. 140) gives a story of Valentinian's treatment of Maximus and his wife, which we had inserted here as a specimen of the bitterness of the time. But in deference to Mr. Hodgkin's judgment (vol. ii. p. 231)—not having the means of examining the case further—we withdraw it, although by no means convinced that Gibbon has erred historically in adopting it, in the modified form in which he does. Niebuhr, certainly, is not a historian much given to credulity, and yet he says, “Valentinian completed the misery of the State by an outrage which he committed on the wife of Petronius Maximus, whom he treacherously enticed into the palace for the purpose of satisfying his base lust. This deed roused the injured husband to form a conspiracy.” Lecture 150.

Assyrian or Babylonian invader"—with this dreadful embitterment of their condition, that the ties of kindred were of no account in the distribution of them as slaves in Africa.—GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 154.*

Bitterness truly! And all of it the direct result of the fall of Aetius—the man whose own bitterness in life had led to the entrance of Genseric into Africa, and whose fall so worked upon the Imperial mind, that he, who personally seemed unfit to do anything, did so communicate his own bitterness to others that instantly the best blood in Rome was flowing freely around. Then came the bitter end of the miserable prince himself; then the bitter elevation and the bitter fall of Maximus—with the bitter life, and behaviour, and sufferings of Eudoxia. And thus, what, as a product of mere imagination, would have seemed extravagant, is, within six months, realized in the most frightful embitterment at once of the springs of government, and the streams in the ordinary flow of Roman life.

Until the fall of the Empire, there has now to elapse a period of 21 years, with eight imperial personages to appear and disappear on the stage. During 16 years of that time, the real *ruler* of Rome—his birth forbade that he should reign—was the Barbarian Ricimer, son of a Suevic father, and grandson, by his mother, of Wallia the Visigoth. As Patrician—which then meant Imperial

* "The skilful craftsman, the strong labourer, the young and handsome cup-bearer, the experienced house-steward, were all swept away, all after the fashion of these Virginia planters of the fifth century, ruthlessly sundered, husbands from wives, and parents from children, and distributed as bond-slaves through Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis."—HODGKIN vol. ii. p. 288.

prime minister for life—he may be taken as the real successor of Aetius. And, if the chief moral quality which distinguished him had to be noted, it would certainly be that of bitterness the most intense.

“From first to last he appears as a man without a heart accessible to any generous emotion—a cold, self-seeking player with men as with counters. There is only one thing to be said in mitigation of our abhorrence of him, and that is that he does seem to have been faithful to Rome.”—HODGKIN, vol. ii. pp. 403–4.

The first of the eight names just referred to is that of Avitus—whose merits had been better attested than even those of Maximus.

“Thirty years of his life had been laudably spent in the public service ; he alternately displayed his talents in war and negotiation,” and, as Prefect of Gaul, he had both overawed the Barbarians, and restored to the Provincials a long lost tranquillity. While thus occupied the news reached him that the Imperial throne was vacant ; and by the choice of the seven Provinces, and the powerful support of the Gothic King Theodoric, the Prefect was proclaimed Emperor. With a secret murmur the Senate, City, and Country, submitted to the appointment.”—See GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 157.

And here ended the virtues of Avitus. Instead of applying himself to the task which his new dignity had brought with it, he seems to have given himself up to indolence and luxury.*

“Famine broke out in Rome, and for this the people blamed the Emperor, and the crowd of hungry dependants he had brought from Gaul.” “Every day were the several parts of the Empire becoming more alienated from each other ; and the stranger of Gaul was the object of popular hatred and contempt.”—HODGKIN, p. 393, and GIBBON, p. 165.

He had now reigned fourteen months—when Ricimer being one day hailed as Deliverer of Italy, on his return from

* GIBBON gives a darker view ; but HODGKIN seems to succeed in showing that that is a mistake.

a victory over the Vandals, by which he had destroyed sixty of their galleys, announced to the Emperor that his reign was at an end. Avitus, thus driven from Rome, became bishop of Placentia. But being pursued thither by the vengeance of the Senate, he fled to Gaul, and died by the way. (GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 166.)

Ricimer, having administered the government during the ensuing vacancy of four months, then consented to the elevation of Majorian as the elect of the Senate. Majorian had already served as a brilliant officer under Aetius, who, jealous of his reputation, had forced him to retire. After the death of Aetius he was, through his intimacy with Ricimer, recalled and promoted. It is remarkable enough how, at such a time, and by such means, a man of his excellence should have become emperor of Rome.

In the words of Procopius, "he was gentle to his subjects, terrible to his enemies, and excelled in every virtue all his predecessors who had reigned over the Romans." In legislation and in arms, the new Emperor was equally distinguished. Under him the numerous tribes of the Barbarians seemed to lay aside their enmity towards one another, and towards Rome.—GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 168.

But the very merits of Majorian were the occasion of his fall, and the bitterness that accompanied it. His naval preparations against Genseric have been already noticed. The Emperor's fleet was burnt, but his spirit was unbroken. His authority, however, was now to terminate.

"The corrupt servants of the government were exasperated against *him* for his integrity; and Ricimer took occasion to impel the inconstant

passions of the Barbarians against a prince whom he esteemed and hated. An impetuous sedition broke out in the camp near Tortona," and Majorian, after a glorious reign of four years, "was dethroned and put to death—no cause being given by any of the ancient chronicles for his fall, except 'the jealousy of Ricimer acted on by the counsels of envious men.'"^{*}

Thus a noble man, who had been driven into the shade through the bitterness of Aetius, was at the fall of the great star, brought out into the full blaze of the world's glory, only that he might thus suffer through the worm-wood spirit of Ricimer.

His short reign, we may add, was marked by some important legislation.

"But his laws all tell one tale; all speak in one relation or another, of *the desperate misery which was engulfing the inhabitants of Italy.*"—HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 427.

Having thus disposed of Majorian, "Ricimer resolved in a second choice to avoid the imprudent preference of superior merit." At his command, the obsequious Senate bestowed the Imperial title on a person called Libius Severus, "who ascended the throne of the West, without emerging from the obscurity of a private station. History has scarcely deigned to notice his birth, his elevation, his character, or his death. Severus expired as soon as his life became inconvenient to his patron; and it would be useless to discriminate his nominal reign, in the vacant interval of six years between the death of Majorian, and the elevation of Anthemius." (GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 184.) During that period the government was in the hands of Ricimer alone. "The four years of his nominal reign seem to have been a period of desultory and exhausting strife. The rule of Ricimer, if accepted as a disagreeable necessity by the inhabitants of Italy, was regarded with aversion by their neighbours, and we may infer that the hatefulness of the man more than counterbalanced the undeniable capacity of the general and statesman."

^{*} (GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 182 and HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 434.) It is only the latter that mentions the murder. And, as he makes no question of it, we presume that his authority is good.

But all the bitter complications that arose out of Ricimer's conduct in these matters we cannot enter on.*

While Ricimer, however, thus governed Italy, the military commanders in Dalmatia and Gaul "maintained," we read—"their allegiance to the republic, by rejecting with disdain, the phantom which he styled an Emperor."

This "phantom" being somehow removed, the Eastern Emperor and Ricimer agreed in the appointment of Anthemius, a distinguished member of the royal family of the East,

who at once proceeded to Rome, "which he entered in triumph; being welcomed alike by the Senate, People, and Barbarian confederates," amid the boisterous exclamations—"Long live Anthemius Augustus! Long live Ricimer, the Patrician! Long live the Concord of the Emperors!" HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 462.

The inauguration of Anthemius was followed by the nuptials of his daughter and Ricimer—"an event which was considered as the firmest security of the union and happiness of the state."

This was in the year 467. The next notice of the relation between Ricimer and his father-in-law is of a date four years later.

"The peaceful and prosperous reign which Anthemius had promised to the West was soon clouded by misfortune and discord. Ricimer impatient of a superior retired from Rome. . . . Italy was gradually divided into two hostile kingdoms, and the nobles of Liguria, who trembled at the prospect of a *civil* war, fell prostrate at his feet, and conjured him to spare their unhappy country." Proposals of reconciliation being made to the Emperor, he thus expressed himself—"What favours have we refused to this ungrateful man? What provocations have we not endured? The liberality which ought to have secured his eternal attachment has exasperated him against his benefactor. What wars has he not excited against the Empire? Shall I now accept his perfidious friendship?"

* See HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 440-448.

* &c.* After all, however, the reconciliation was effected—the distinguished Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, having taken a laborious journey to Rome, in the capacity of peace-maker. “The clemency of the Emperor was extorted from his weakness; and Ricimer suspended his ambitious designs till he had secretly prepared the engines with which he resolved to subvert the throne of Anthemius.”

The mask was then thrown off, and Ricimer marched to the gates of Rome, where he awaited the arrival from the East of his new imperial nominee—whom Genseric also, for reasons of his own, had already been urging upon the Roman people. The senator Olybrius, who by his marriage to the daughter of Valentinian III., might be regarded as the legal successor to the throne of the West, was the man who had the misfortune to receive the nomination. On the arrival of Olybrius, the struggle commenced.

“The body of the Senate and people firmly adhered to the cause of Anthemius, and the more effectual support of a Gothic army enabled him to prolong his reign, and the public distress, by a resistance of three months, which produced the concomitant evils of famine and pestilence.” Ricimer was at length victorious, “and his troops, breaking down every barrier, rushed with irresistible violence into the heart of the city, and Rome (in the language of a contemporary pope) was subverted by the civil fury of Anthemius and Ricimer.” “The Emperor was inhumanly massacred by the command of his son-in-law—who thus added a third, or perhaps a fourth Emperor, to the number of his victims. The soldiers, who united the rage of factious citizens with the savage manners of barbarians, were indulged without control in the license of murder and rapine. And the face of the city exhibited the strange contrast of stern cruelty and dissolute intemperance.”—GIBBON, vol. vi. pp. 213–218.

* Ricimer, on his part, had expressed himself with no less bitterness on the occasion—“But whom will you send as messenger? said he; Who can bring this hot-headed Galatian prince to reason? If you ask him for the smallest favour he bubbles over with fury, and there is not a man living who can remain in a passion as long as he can.”—HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 478.

Forty days after this miserable triumph the tyranny and life of Ricimer came suddenly to an end—his nephew Gundobald, a Burgundian, succeeding him in this galling lordship over the Romans. Ricimer is presently followed out of the world by Olybrius; and Gundobald, after allowing himself for five months the luxury of an inter-regnum, instals in the Imperial chair an obscure soldier, Glycerius. This was he who persuaded the Ostrogoths, as mentioned above, to leave Italy, and turn against Gaul. This new appointment, however, not meeting with favour at Constantinople, Glycerius retires, and becomes bishop of Salona, while Julius Nepos, nephew of Marcellinus, arrives from the East as Emperor of Rome.

Bitter disappointment again follows the fondest hopes. "After sacrificing his most faithful subjects in Gaul to the hope of domestic security," all proved in vain; for "his repose was invaded by a furious sedition of the Barbarian confederates, who, under the command of Orestes, marched upon Ravenna." Nepos, after an inglorious reign of fourteen months, fled, and "retired to his principality in Dalmatia." Five years after he was murdered in Salona, the crime having been charged, though we can believe unjustly, on Glycerius, now bishop, whom he had formerly spared.—GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 220; and HODGKIN, vol. ii. pp. 498-9.

Orestes might now have reigned, but for some reason, unknown to us, he preferred the appointment of his youthful son Romulus, better known as Augustulus.

"He soon discovered, however"—and this is the point that concerns us here—"before the end of a year that the lessons of perjury and ingratitude, which a rebel must inculcate, will be retorted against himself; and that the precarious sovereign of Italy was only permitted to choose whether he would be the slave, or the victim, of his Barbarian mercenaries."

Such was now the bitterness of Roman waters. The sentence that follows will also illustrate the First Trumpet.

"The dangerous alliance of these strangers had oppressed and insulted the last remains of Roman freedom and dignity."—GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 222.

Thus in the 22 years of bitterness between the fall of Aetius, and that of Orestes, have ten Imperial persons passed from the stage of Rome. Of these four have been directly murdered (Valentinian, Maximus, Majorian, Anthemius)—another (Nepos) having escaped the same end by flight, only to meet it a few years later; while one of them, after his deposition (Avitus), dies in seeking to avoid his enemies. Two are deposed, and spend their days in another sphere of life (Glycerius and Augustulus); while Olybrius, and probably Severus, seem to have come to a natural end, without having first been stripped of the purple. Nothing approaching to this had ever happened in Rome before; and it has now happened as a plain historical sequence to the fall of Aetius. Besides, it was the direct preparation for the event that followed—the smiting and darkening of the Sun itself. For thus there was brought about what no arguments could have effected—the practical conviction in men's minds that it was now time for the Western Empire to end.

It is also beyond question that such an embitterment of those high springs must have communicated a similar element to the wider streams, in the level of ordinary society.

Let us now see the proportion and character of the waters as affected by the wormwood.

The star fell—"upon the third *part of the rivers*, and upon the *fountains of the waters*." This must, surely, mean—a *third part of the rivers*, but *all of the fountains*;

—and then when it is said, “*Fountains of the waters*”—we must distinguish between the fountain-heads and the waters themselves—or, as we may fairly regard them, the *rivers*—the immediate consequence being that the third part of these waters became wormwood. Nothing is expressly said, it will be observed, of the *embittering* of the *fountains*. Such a statement was not needful, because the thing would be assumed. Nor would it have been particularly suitable, as the object was simply practical, namely, to point out how men drank and died. In other words, it is certain that the fountains in high places would be made bitter—but their *evil action* lay in the poisoning of the lower waters, from which the drinking would take place.

Now, if this be a correct account of the scene in the Apocalypse, we may, without dogmatizing, point to some things in the history of the times, remarkably harmonizing with it. For, in the first place, the wormwood star has come down on the *entire headquarters* of the West Imperial Government, that is—on *the fountains of the waters*. And these fountains are just what they were when the “Earth” first appeared in the vision. For, from the fact of being headquarters, they do not follow the changes in the more distant parts. But then, on the other hand, the Earth, having shrunk, meanwhile, to something like a third of its former self, the “waters” have lessened in proportion. Hence these, at the date of the wormwood star, and as affected by that, are really *only a third part of the real waters of “the Earth.”*

This we suggest as a fair interpretation of the scene.

When first the Earth appeared in the prophetic vision—it was the entire Western Empire. But now, when the star has fallen, and the wormwood era fairly set in, Africa, and Spain, Britain, and a large portion of Gaul, with some other parts to the East and North of Italy, are gone. And thus, if the whole waters of the *remaining* portion are acted on, they may very fairly be spoken of as “the third part of *the waters*.” The African, Spanish, British, and other waters, were now independent of Roman fountains. Those of Italy, and part of Gaul, were still in a condition to be most painfully affected by the bitterness of these fountains. And they, verily, did become wormwood. That is to say—*the whole of society* in those regions was subjected to civil and political distress the most extreme, and that, as arising from the viciousness of its government. Many could no more endure it, and, as we read, fled from it. Others would not go, and so they suffered. To them the waters proved “*wormwood*” indeed.

“And many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter.” Not *all* men, that would have been extravagant; not a *third* of men, that would have been excessive; but *many* men, and that is moderate and true. To take but one example—the sack of Rome in 455 was as certain a result as possible of the fall of Aetius. And it would be strange indeed, if, in drinking the bitter draught of Vandal bondage, there did not die more than just a few, out of all the thousands of Roman men and women—and the highest and noblest too—who were driven, like any other slaves, on board the ships of Genseric.

We now ask in conclusion that the student of Scripture and of history will consider well this one point—How probable it seemed, as it certainly was natural, in the middle of the 5th century, that the Romans and Confederates would coalesce, in Italy at least, into one strong harmonious whole—the one being willing to accept of that support which the others, without aiming at more, were willing to give;—and how all such appearances were broken up by the fall of Aetius, and the fall of the Empire necessitated by the wretchedness that ensued.

CHAPTER IV.

FOURTH TRUMPET.

Fulfilment.

THE SMITING OF THE SUN.

WE have already pointed to the remarkable circumstance that the heavenly bodies were *smitten*—the result being that they were partially, and for a time, darkened. Now do we find anything in the fall of Rome corresponding to this? We do, just as we find a counterpart to every other feature of the Trumpet scenes. The last hail, as we have seen, came to fall; and, except through that, let us never forget there was no fall of Rome. But, while that fell once more, as for years, we may say generations, it had already done, there now occurred one thing entirely new. Odoacer had got a new thought into his head, and that thought guided his hand to a stroke new even for these barbarians. Hitherto they had struck at every thing but the emperorship; but the new thought was, that

this was “a useless and expensive office, which he resolved to abolish; and such is the weight of antique prejudice, that it required some boldness and penetration to discover the extreme facility of the enterprise.”*

Such, then, being the thought and enterprise, he began at

* GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 226.

once to strike at this, the highest dignity in the world. Dignity, indeed, now seemed all that remained to Rome. Army there was none; for the freemen had nearly disappeared. And so the only business left for Odoacer was to turn his hand against the imperial office itself. This was then held—in fact, if not in name—by Orestes. Orestes fled to Pavia. Odoacer pursued him. The Barbarians burst into the strongly fortified place—for two days plundering, ravishing, burning; and amid the noise of their own falling hail, shouting out still more loudly, “Orestes! Orestes! Where is Orestes?” The trembling ruler had fled to Placentia, and was pursued, caught, beheaded. At Ravenna there was still one representative of emperorship, Paulus, his brother; but unable to defend that almost impregnable place, he too fled, was taken, and slain. As for the boy emperor, he was pitied, spared, and kindly provided for. Thus everything imperial has passed away. Surely, if any act could be fairly embodied in the language of the Fourth Trumpet, it was this dealing of Odoacer with the sovereignty of Rome. It was so deliberate and determined, so sudden and decisive. All was ripe for the blow; the blow was struck, and mighty Rome fell from her imperial seat. All this Odoacer designed, and saw that he had achieved. But how little in thus smiting the Roman Sun did he, did anyone, see the momentous significancy of the eclipse that then set in! That was altogether another matter—the issue of the smiting; for never did consequent look less like its antecedent than did this. That eclipse is still a matter to be studied and wondered at.

Thus then, returning to our history, was a Barbarian prepared to reign, while the Romans were prepared to submit to his authority. Strange, indeed, when we compare the case with so many others of the same class, that all this preparation should have been needed; and yet, on neither side, was any of it superfluous. So devoted, on the one hand, were the Romans to their imperial head; so long had they given themselves up to the very worship * of that imposing idol; so rooted were they in the conviction that Rome and the world could have only one end; and so deeply, on the other hand, had the northern invaders been smitten with awe for the Roman name, that not until the measure of political degradation and embitterment was complete could either the Romans think of yielding their position, or the boldest Barbarian dare to assume the attitude of an independent sovereignty. Neither Alaric, nor Attila, nor Genseric, had had the courage for this. Such a step was too much even for the audacity of a Ricimer, who "had trampled on the ruins of

* This had been given to the first of the Emperors, whose very name, *Augustus*, was suggestive of it, and had been continued to his successors as such. Thus a new Emperor would, in his first proclamation, speak of his predecessors as god Augustus, god Tiberius, god Claudius, god Commodus. (HODGKIN, vol. i. p. 203.) The attempt of Caligula to set up his image for worship in the temple of Jerusalem is well known, as also the demand on the persecuted Christians to sacrifice to the *genius of the Emperor*. The worship, thus commenced, was perfected by Diocletian, who borrowed from Persia the mode of *adoration*; that is, of falling prostrate on the ground, and kissing the feet of the Emperor. (GIBBON, vol. x. p. 124.) How deeply this emperor-worship had taken root may be seen in the style of adoration in which one like Theodosius had permitted himself to be addressed (HODGKIN, vol. i. p. 204), not to speak of such expressions as the "my Eternity" employed by a creature like Honorius. And it was not the Emperor only that the Romans thus honoured; "they

Italy, and had exercised the power, without the title, of king." That man who had made so many emperors had not dared to make himself one. Only a few months earlier the very confederates, who now followed Odoacer, had offered the purple to Orestes, and bestowed it on Augustulus; and not until his imbecility filled the throne had the imperial office fallen so low that the Barbarian heart had gained courage to strike at it. This was A.D. 476, or in the year of Rome 1229. And "*the fall of Rome is still the greatest event in all secular history.*"* Meanwhile we pursue the story, that we may see how it fared with Rome, as regarded from the purely civil side.

The Senate then, as we learn, still continued to exercise its nominal authority; and, after an interval of seven years, Odoacer restored the Consulship of the West.

"The laws of the Emperors were strictly enforced, and the civil administration of Italy was still exercised by the Prætorian Prefect and his subordinate officers." (GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 233.) At length, after subsisting for fourteen years, the kingdom of the Heruli gave way to the

worshipped the goddess *Roma*, and believed in her, in a sense in which they had no belief in *Apello* or *Venus*, in *Saturn* or *Jupiter*. They regarded Rome as the soul of the world, as the principle of life which animates creation, &c. The temple of *Rome and Venus*, erected by Hadrian, was the most magnificent of the kind in the city." (MERIVALE, p. 593.) "But it would not be easy to find another example where the traditionary reverence—we might almost say, the old hereditary deification of the city—had, from the earliest period, taken such deep root in the minds of men; and where such a formal worship was so intimately interwoven with manners, customs, and even maxims of state, as among the Romans. And when an universal monarchy had sprung out from this single city, it was still that city, it was still eternal Rome, that was ever regarded, not merely as the centre, but as the essence of the whole—the personified conception of the state, the grand idea of the empire." SCHLEGEL'S *Philosophy of History*, p. 251.

* MERIVALE, *General History of Rome*, p. 642.

more vigorous government of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, by whom the same indulgence was continued to the Romans. "As the patron of the Republic, it was the interest and duty of the Gothic king to cultivate the affections of the Senate and People." "From a tender regard to the expiring prejudices of Rome, the Barbarian declined the name, the purple, and the diadem of the Emperors," "while the Praetorian Prefect, the Prefect of Rome, the quaestors, the Master of the offices, &c., still continued to act as the ministers of state." "The civil administration, with its honours and emoluments, was confined to the Italians; the people still preserved their dress and language, their laws and customs, their personal freedom, and two-thirds of their landed property." It was, in short, "the policy of Theodoric to disguise the reign of a Barbarian."*

Thus did Roman institutions, in so unwonted a manner, survive, to a great extent, the Barbaric shock. And how could such a fact be better expressed than by the prophetic symbol of the lesser luminaries still retaining a portion of their light? That this was the only manner in which the symbol was realized we are by no means affirming.

The case is very different, however, as viewed from the merely *civil side*, of the authority that now became *supreme*; for there is in that respect no eclipse at all. The light seems to remain entire; but it is no longer Roman.

"The sovereignty of Theodoric was established from Sicily to the Danube, from Sirmium (near Belgrade) to the Atlantic; and the Greeks themselves have acknowledged that Theodoric reigned over the fairest portion of the Roman Empire."—GIBBON, vol. vii. p. 26.

Such an Empire might now have swallowed up the Roman Power as effectually as the Persian had done the Chaldæan, the Greek the Persian, or the Roman the Greek.

* GIBBON, vol. vii. pp. 27-29.

"The union of the Goths and Romans might have fixed for ages the transient happiness of Italy; and the first of nations, a new people of free subjects, and enlightened soldiers, might have gradually arisen from the mutual emulation of their respective virtues."—GIBBON, vol. vii. p. 26.

Undoubtedly it might. No merely secular reason is assignable why Italy should not have become, and still been, a Gothic kingdom, as Gaul became Frankish, Spain Gothic, and Britain Saxon. But if there was no secular reason, there was a strong sacred one, why this should not be. The fourth of the great monarchies had not yet run its course; and come what might of Gaul, or Spain, or Britain, Rome at least must continue Roman.

The next change in Roman fortunes is important. The kingdom of the Ostrogoths, after continuing forty-five years, was destroyed by the Emperor of the East's lieutenants, Belisarius and Narses, Italy thus becoming a province of the Eastern Empire.

"Longinus was sent there, in the year 566, by Justin II. to govern Italy with absolute authority. He changed the whole form of the government, abolished the Senate and Consuls, and all the former Magistrates in Rome and Italy, and in every city of note constituted a new governor with the title of Duke. He himself presided over all; and, residing at Ravenna, not at Rome, he was called the Exarch (governor) of Ravenna, as were also his successors in the same office."—BISHOP NEWTON, *On the Prophecies*, p. 480.

Proud Rome, whose principle it had been, like her own Caesar, to be first or nothing—Rome, "to which there was nothing equal, nothing second," was now degraded to the second rank. The Eternal City was subjected to a place which had sprung up but yesterday among the marshes of the Adriatic.

Such was the Greek domination now established over Italy. With a rapacious Governor in Ravenna, a jealous Emperor in Constantinople, and a servile Patriarch by his side, it may well be imagined to what a condition Rome was at length brought. Exhausted as the country had been by war, its dignity was now suffering still more severely from peace. But it was enough. That which was still, after all its debasement, to subsist as the last of the four kingdoms, must not continue in the hands of an Eastern stranger. The Gothic kingdom was inconsistent with the development of the Divine purpose; and so the Greek power had served as the hammer for breaking it up. Not more in harmony with that purpose was the Greek dominion; and now, under the blows of the Lombards, this too begins to give way—so much so that, as early as the year 568, the Lombard kingdom is set up—not over Rome indeed, but over the much larger portion of the Italian territory.

We see then how, as regarded from the secular point of view, all this seems to accord, or otherwise, with the Trumpet scene. From the commencement of the Barbarian dominion, the imperial sun, as cannot be denied, appeared to be extinguished. And yet, as regards the inferior lights, there did seem, under Odoacer and his successors, something very like their merely partial obscuration. But now, under the Greeks, these too are completely gone. And yet, strange to say, this last event is frequently taken as the entire counterpart to the prophecy. The third part of the sun is made to stand, as already noticed, for the sun of the third part of the

former Roman world ; and thus the *total obscuration* of it creates no sense of difficulty. According to the same principle, of course, the moon and stars should have been treated. But, considering how aptly the facts seemed to illustrate the merely partial obscuration of these, the theory of the third parts of imperial territory was dropped, and the new facts were seized on, as before, for illustrating the corresponding feature in the prediction. Then, again, when the scene has changed, and the inferior lights have gone out entirely, like the superior one before them, this fact also is quietly recorded, as the natural consequence of the process which had commenced already.

“Thus,” says Bishop Newton, “was the Roman *sun extinguished* in the Western Emperors ; but the other lesser luminaries, the *moon and stars*, still subsisted ; for Rome was still allowed to have her Senate and Consuls, and other subordinate magistrates, as before. At length these lights also were suppressed and extinguished.”—*On the Prophecies*, p. 480.

And so the prediction as to the sun was fulfilled, it seems, in the immediate extinction of that ; and the strictly parallel prediction as to the other lights was fulfilled, in *their subsisting for about half a century, and being extinguished after that !*

It is plain, then, that this will not do ; and if the fourth Trumpet is to have its fulfilment in the fall of Imperial Rome, it must be in some other way than this. Nor is such hard to find. *Imperial Rome did fall ; Rome itself did not.* The *Imperial Sun* did cease to shine ; the *Roman Sun* was only eclipsed, and that but partially. Already, as the old building came down, was a new

building rising up within its embrace. The old stock withered and came to nothing; but its very decay ministered to the sustenance of a new tree which, when mature, was to drag the nations under its shadow as imperiously as ever the old had done.

Thus the key to this great question lies in the view which Scripture presents, and history endorses, of *the unity of the Roman power* in its various stages, and under its widely-different forms of development.* That Power, as represented with ten toes in the king's dream, is the same as the Power that had at first appeared simply with two legs and feet. The ten-horned beast in the prophet's vision is the same power as the Fourth Beast when as yet unhorned. If then this Power, or Beast, was never extinct, it was never without an appropriate ruling agency. First it was a Kingdom, then a Republic, then an Empire. And during this entire period the Roman State, or Earth, had, in the language of the symbol—a style not uncommon in our ordinary speech—its political lights, such as sun, moon, stars. And these were continually shifting their places and relations. At one time the *kingly* authority, next the *senatorial*, afterwards the *imperial*, is found to command the predominance. And such, therefore, will be the symbolic sun of its period. Then, again, the assembly of the *people*, which might be

* Thus is the simple fact related—"In many ways did the Church succeed to the Imperial organization. When the officials of the State became powerless, those of the Church stepped into their place." (*Times*, August, 1880, on Mr. Hodgkin's book.) What is this but saying that certain of the secondary Roman lights were perpetuated in new forms after the fall of the Empire?

reckoned as the *second* of the great lights under the Republic — *Senatus Populus-que Romanus* — becomes, under the Empire, politically nothing ; while the Senate, which had so long been the first, becomes the second. It is not, in short, either by the traditions of the past, or the titles of the present, that this matter can be adjusted. The predominant power for the time being is the Sun ; the inferior powers, and prominent officials in the State, are the secondary lights.

When at length the great catastrophe came it did appear as if all Roman authorities, or lights, had decisively passed away. But how very different the reality from the appearance we know now. For, however altered her form, or diminished her force, Rome dreams not for a moment of renouncing her claim to authority and dominion. The tongue may seem palsied which had dictated to the world, but it is only gathering boldness to dictate terms more humiliating than ever. It is winter with Rome, and her sun shines both shorter and fainter than during the season of which the heat had been so cruel, and the fruit so abundant. But the earth is not idle under that winter sun. Preparation is going on for another summer, and another harvest ; and for this there still remains enough both of heat and of light.

If there still stand in the way of all this—as we doubt not there will with many—the lingering idea that *the third part of the sun* must mean *the sun of the third part*, we will ask a question which few, it seems, are disposed to look at—“What do you make of the third part of *day*?”

Are you content to say—"The sun of the third part was darkened for a day of the third part"—holding this as equivalent to—"The whole sun in question" (namely the Roman) "was darkened for a whole day?"—that is to say, totally and finally. You must find it difficult, surely, to take this as the meaning of language so plainly expressive of *eclipse*.*

Now to us there is no difficulty; for "day," as here used, will be the entire day of Roman rule, inasmuch as there is suggested no idea of *succession*, or of any separate period, but simply of *continuance*, in relation to the state of the sun as *before, during, and after* the eclipse. There is no suggestion, in short, of *days* at all, but simply the view that, during *the day* of that sun, there occurred the eclipse as specified. It is the same style as that in which we might say, "The sun of Egypt is long since set, and its day gone; the day of England may go like it." Thus taken, the eclipse, as lasting for a third part of the day of Rome,

* As to the meaning of the darkening of the third part, Alford is silent. Hengstenberg says—"That a third part of sun, &c., is smitten, denotes long periods of time, during which distressing times should alternate with better ones . . . A third part, as it were, each time, covers the watches, or interferes with the function of shining." But this surely would require another text to comment on, as the present one says nothing of *periods*. Dr. Keith (*Signs of the Times*) speaks very quietly of the *third part of the sun*, as referring to the sun of a *portion* of the Roman world, and perceives that the Fourth Trumpet "implies the future restoration of the Western empire," which he regards as taking place in Charlemagne. And yet, on the very next page (285, vol. i.) he writes, "The downfall of imperial Rome, closing with the EXTINCTION of the empire, the consulate, and the senate, is, we apprehend, the *sole and exclusive theme* of the first four trumpets." Bishop Newton has caught the idea of *eclipse*, but he makes it commence with the sack of Rome by Genseric, ending, for the sun, with Augustulus, but continuing, for the other lights, till the time of the Greek supremacy, as we have already noticed.

would be no short one. And, though there may seem some incongruity in taking the season of *moon* and *stars* as identical with that of *sun*, yet is this fully justified by the circumstance that *sun* and *moon*, when employed as here, have no reference to variety of *time*, but only to *forms* of government. The *night* of a state, so regarded, has no moral, but merely a civil aspect, and can mean nothing but its period *in relation to the secondary authorities*, as its *day* denotes the same period in relation to the principal one.

CHAPTER V.

FOURTH TRUMPET—CONTINUED.

ROME ECCLESIASTICAL.

WE are thus called to view Rome in the new light of a great ecclesiastico-political Power. The state of it, in this respect, at the fall of the Empire, will appear from the following facts.

Upon Constantine's removal to his new capital, Rome may be said to have been abandoned by its emperors. For until the division of the Empire, some thirty years later, the Imperial residence was Constantinople; and after that, it became, for the West, Milan, or Ravenna;—one result of this being that

“the Consuls and other chief officers of the ancient Commonwealth had lost all estimation, and almost all authority, since they had become the direct nominees of an absent sovereign. The nobles and opulent citizens, still generally Pagan, had sunk for the most part into luxurious indolence.” (MERIVALE, p. 594.) Meanwhile the Christians, with more spirit and intelligence, rapidly increased in influence. “They won their way at this period, however, not by the graces which had signalized their predecessors.” “The office of bishop of Rome, which, in the absence of the chief secular authority, had assumed no mean secular importance, had become an object of contentious rivalry, and was sought by all the artifice and violence which had formerly disgraced the competition for the consulship. Thus, on the death of Liberius in 366, the struggle for the succession broke out into popular violence, and resulted in a sanguinary conflict. The heathen historian of the period, Ammianus Marcellinus, narrates the event as Livy had done the civil strife of consuls and

tribunes. "The prize," he says, "was magnificent; it conferred wealth and splendour; it gained the devotion of women of the highest rank; it placed the fortunate aspirant at the pinnacle of fashion, as well as of luxury."*

So fierce was the struggle on this occasion that the prefect of the city was obliged to retire without the walls, and leave the combatants to themselves. The strife lasted for several days, and

"In one church, on a single day, 160 persons are said to have been killed. Damasus gained the upper hand, and remained in possession." "It now appeared that the head of the Church militant at Rome was truly an *Imperator* in the field, requiring, and obtaining, the implicit obedience of all his soldiers in their several capacities—of the priests who regularly ministered in sacred things to their respective congregations—of the regular army of devotees, ascetics, and monks, who made incursions into the ranks of the enemy—of the learned ecclesiastics who engaged in single combat with the picked champions of the ancient philosophies. The organization of the Church was steadily advancing; and to Rome, as the centre of discipline, and mother of camps, the eyes of the faithful were constantly turned; the bishop of Rome became more than an ordinary leader; he was the general in chief of the whole spiritual armament. He assumed, and gradually enforced, a special jurisdiction over the other bishops of Italy, which became known as *suburbicarian*, from their relation to his metropolitan city. As yet, indeed, he put forth no historical claim to power, or even precedence; but it may be allowed that

* The following instances of episcopal behaviour at this early date will show us what a bishop of Rome was likely to be and to do. A certain Leontius, bishop of Tripolis, thus arranges, with the wife of the Emperor Constantius, the grounds on which alone he would visit her—"That I will enter, so that thou, instantly descending from the high throne, shalt meet me with reverence, and put thy head under my hands, thus deserving blessings; and then I will eat, and thou wilt reverently stand, and when I order, sitting down, till I give consent [? to eat]. If thou agree to this, I will come, &c." So a certain Martin, at the Court of Maximus—when that emperor had ordered the cup to be first presented to the bishop, expecting to receive it himself directly from him—gives the cup to his presbyter instead, esteeming none more worthy to receive it. (See GIESSELE, *Ecc. Hist.* vol. i. p. 419.)

the civil eminence of the Popes first dates from the notable election of the ambitious Damasus ;"—while, at the same time, "by them, even in the fourth century, was laid, almost in silence, the foundation of the ecclesiastical system of the middle ages." Thus "the separation of the East and West had *tended to exalt the religious dignity of the ancient capital, as much as it had abased its secular authority.*" (MERIVALE, pp. 609-611 and 595.)

We come down to the early part of the following century—the time when Adolphus, the noble and generous successor of Alaric, impressed with the thought of Rome's majesty, shrunk with awe from laying a rude hand on its dominion, and from the idea of turning (as he had once purposed) "Romania into a Gothia ;"—and, at that date, we find the condition of Rome thus described—

"The influence over men's minds which she lost by the *withdrawal of the sun of imperial splendour* she regained, by the enhanced authority of her Bishops, who now *reigned almost supreme in the city* over a population very generally devoted to them."—MERIVALE, p. 644.

One instance of this devotion is worth giving. It is this—that of all the Romans who went in deputations to Attila and Genseric, in the middle of the fifth century, the one man, to whom the people looked with any real hopefulness, was their Pope, Leo I. As for Attila, says Mr. Hodgkin,

"He was already predisposed to moderation by the counsels of his ministers. The awe of Rome was upon him and them, and he was forced incessantly to ponder the question, What if I conquer like Alaric, to die like him? Upon these doubts and ponderings of his; supervened the stately presence of Leo, a man of holy life,* firm will, dauntless courage

* This is a high character of Leo, and requires, we think, modification in some respects. Gibbon says—and we believe with great truth—"He has deserved the appellation of *Great*, by the successful zeal with which he laboured to establish his opinions, and his authority, under the vener-

—that, to be sure, Attila perceived in the first moments of their interview—and holding an office honoured and venerated through all the civilized world. The Barbarian yielded to his spell,” and Leo’s success as an ambassador was complete. In all this Leo was “working for a far distant future, as one who, when the Roman was becoming the common drudge and footstool of all nations, still remembered the proud words, ‘Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,’—and, under the very shadow of Attila and Genseric, was preparing for the city of Romulus a new and spiritual dominion, vaster and more enduring than any which had been won for her by Julius or Hadrian.”—HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 177–180.*

And yet, though the foremost man among them all, Leo was only working out the principles which he had inherited from his predecessors; and all that he worked he bequeathed to his successors. For

able names of orthodox faith, and ecclesiastical discipline.” (vol. vi. p. 131.) Mosheim says of him that, “He was a man of extraordinary talents, a good writer, an indefatigable bishop, and very successful in promoting the *glory of the See of Rome*, and *extending the limits of his power*.” “It has been said of him that he possessed every virtue compatible with an unbounded ambition.” (MOSHEIM, Reid’s Ed., p. 187.) Now we greatly fear that all this is too well borne out by facts; and if so, then it is plain enough, whether such a mind accords more with the tempter’s offer of power and glory, or with the spirit of Him who scorned it all. That Mr. Hodgkin really meant “holy life,” when he wrote it, we are bound to believe. As for ourselves, we like to see a person with a tolerable character for *truthfulness*, before we can comfortably speak about his *holiness*. How it was with Leo in this respect we shall see a little more, by-and-by. Canon Robertson quotes Barrow (*Pope’s Supremacy*, p. 524), as styling him, “this *vixenly* Pope”—adding, “though the use of this epithet is rather strange, we may understand what Barrow means by it, and *perhaps he did Leo no injustice*.”—ROBERTSON, *Growth of Papal Power*, p. 94.

* It is of such importance to have the true historic view in this matter, that, for the sake of bringing it out as plainly as possible, we transcribe another sentence from the same page;—“And all these gifts of will, of intellect, and of soul, were employed by Leo with undeviating constancy, with untired energy, in furthering his great aim, the exaltation of the dignity of the Popedom, the conversion of the admitted primacy of the *bishops of Rome* into an absolute and world-wide spiritual monarchy.”

"They seem all alike to have framed their ecclesiastical policy, with a steady view to the eventual aggrandisement of their see ; but the rise of the Papacy, which is perhaps the most marked feature of the century, was still more due to their actual position, as *spiritual heirs to a secular power which had abdicated its actual responsibilities*. The history of modern Europe was about to be inaugurated by a great spiritual revival, of which Rome was to be once more the centre. Modern Rome was about to be born." (MERIVALE, p. 644.) And let us mark it well—"The event of 476" (out of which that birth sprang) "was, in its indirect consequences, a Revolution, which affected most powerfully the life of every inhabitant of mediæval, and even of modern Europe. For, by it, the political centre of gravity was changed from the Palatine to the Lateran, and the Bishop of Rome, now beyond comparison the most important personage of Roman descent left in Italy, was irresistibly invited to ascend the throne, and to wrap himself in the purple of the vanished Augustus."—HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 544.

And yet this was only the invitation. The day was coming when men would compare "the election of a Roman Emperor with that of his *yet mightier successor*, the Roman Pontiff." (*ib.* i. p. 207.) Does this seem to accord, or not, with the notes of the Trumpet proclaiming the great Roman eclipse ?

It must have been wonderfully suggestive of this succession, when the Pope was seen to occupy the very Palace that had housed the Emperor. And yet this, we may believe, took place, ere the middle of the fourth century. For

"The so-called Donation of Constantine, though undoubtedly a forgery of a later date," seems really to have "one small article of truth in it. Close to the Palace of the Lateran, stands the great basilica of St. John, with the proud inscription, 'MOTHER AND MISTRESS OF ALL THE CHURCHES OF THE CITY AND OF THE WORLD ;' and in all likelihood, both the original foundation of the Lateran Church, and the transfer of the Lateran Palace from the Emperors to the Popes, are as old as the reign of Constantine. The Emperors had now ceased to reside at Rome, and the removal of their court left the bishop as the most conspicuous person in the city."—ROBERTSON, *Growth of Papal Power*, p. 60.

CHAPTER VI.

FOURTH TRUMPET—CONTINUED.

ELEMENT OF THE NEW DOMINION.

WE have now to consider the principal elements which contributed to this new state of things. And, for the first stone in the grand foundation, we must certainly look to the *civil pre-eminence of Rome*.

For centuries, Rome, and its Capitol, had been to the nations of the West what Jerusalem, and its temple, had been to the Jews. They were to be coeval with Time, for without them the world could not continue.* So thoroughly had Rome, strongest and wisest of oppressors, won the regard of the oppressed. All independence had departed, all nationality. Even distant Britain had quite ceased to be for itself, and had long been most loyally for Rome only. Was it a matter of liberty, or life, that was in question? "I appeal to Caesar," was the ready resource of the Provincials. Rome had become, in short, the tribunal of judgment, the fountain-head of favours, the Central Sun which had attracted and kept revolving

* "Lactantius in the fourth century would have been shocked at the idea that Rome could ever cease to be the imperial ruler of the nations. Beyond the fall of Rome he could see nothing, he could imagine no future. He was convinced that with the end of Rome would come the *end of the world*."—MERIVALE, p. 638.

around itself, like so many obedient satellites, the nations of the earth. The like of it had never been known in the world. Assyria and Babylon had crushed their neighbours, reducing them to a dumb subjection. (Isa. x., xiv., xxxvi., xxxvii.) Athens had planted her colonies, and attracted scholars. Carthage had made large advances towards general dominion; but her rule was hard and mercenary. Rome, as selfish as any, but wiser than all, had won the awe, the obedience, the admiration, and, in a sense, the very hearts of the vanquished.*

And now to this supremacy of the Roman State was the Roman Church fast serving itself heir. It was a marvellous ambition indeed, and audacity, which could originate such a purpose within the professed body of Christ. But once that Christian simplicity and humility had departed, immediately those baser passions rushed into the void. Roman society had, for its own reasons, entered the Christian Church,† bringing its old Roman spirit with it. That this had been only dormant, not dead, we can well understand. The numberless traditions of past greatness made up the very atmosphere of Roman breath; while a thousand monuments daily presented to the eye the old dominion itself in its vastness and grandeur—all seeming to extol the name of *Roma*, whether inside or

* "After all that has been said, we must admit that Rome laid a spell, not of power only, but of love, upon the vast and various populations under her sway, such as some other races, ruling far more righteously, have been unable to exercise."—HODGKIN, vol. ii. p. 508.

† *Prætextatus*, consul designate, and one of the chief supporters of the old idolatry, used to say to Pope Damasus, *Facite me Romanæ urbis Episcopum et ero protinus Christianus*.

outside her temple. And yet it must be confessed that all this, taken by itself, instead of supplying power for the restoration of dominion, only ministered to a conceit, lamentable, or ridiculous, according to the eye with which it is viewed. Still the spirit is there; and if there only present itself some new sphere of action, with adequate motive and prospect, who can say but that spirit may yet be aroused for new conflict and dominion? But the sphere!—it seems Utopia—and yet it was found, and strangest of all—in the Church. Not the less, however, is the spirit Roman—Roman pride, presumption, craft. The mother of that Church which goes out to fight for the new dominion is the veritable ROME. The Church of *Peter*—that was an afterthought; the Church of *Rome*—that was the spring of all. Whatever the plea put forth, this it was that first moved, and really mastered the nations. The lion roared, and the tamer creatures must needs tremble.

And if this be held inadequate to account for what followed, there was, we are well assured, another agency at work, enough to supplement all deficiencies. The Bible tells us of a spirit whom it calls “the god of this world,” and how he took our blessed Lord up the mountain—and what he showed Him, and what he offered, and what answer was returned. That the same spirit now took the Roman Pontiff to the same mountain-top, and plied him with the same bright vision, and the same bold offer, we can well believe. In just one thing the resemblance vanishes. From all Rome we hear no echo of the answer—“*Get thee behind me, Satan.*”

But to return—this point, let us say, is of the last

importance. It was Rome as Rome, around which centered that regard which issued in consequences so momentous. This is nothing less than a substantial historical fact. Thus, when Constantine reconstituted the *civil* administration of the Empire, and divided the diocese of Italy between the two vicars of Milan and Rome—giving to the latter ten provinces—on what ground, but the one just mentioned, did the religious head of Rome step, by Imperial authority, into the ecclesiastical government of this identical region—becoming thus the Metropolitan of the bishops of these ten Provinces,* which, from their subjection to the civil vicar, were called suburbicarian? This word plainly enough means *under the vicar of the city*; that vicar being *the Roman deputy of the Prefect of Italy*. Who could have imagined that, on a future day, all such vicars should yield to one styling himself the vicar of Peter—the vicar of Christ? And what other view of Episcopal precedence was given when, at the Council of Constantinople (381), it was decreed that the Bishop of that city should have the precedency of honour *after* the Bishop of *Rome, on account of its being “new Rome”*? And still more explicitly was the same principle enunciated

* These were Campania, Tuscia and Umbria, Picenum *suburb.*, Sicilia, Apulia and Calabria, Bruttium and Lucania, Samnium, Sardinia, Corsica, Valeria.—GIESELER, vol. i. p. 431.

How ready the Emperors were to advance the Roman Bishop in the fourth century appears still further from the enactment of Valentinian I. (about 370) “empowering him to examine and judge other bishops, that religious disputes might not be decided by profane judges.” (BOWER, vol. i. p. 187.) To which we may add a similar act of Gratian (378) in favour of Damasus. (GIESELER, vol. i. p. 434.) And, however temporary and personal this last might be, still did it serve as a good fulcrum for the great Roman lever.

at Chalcedon (451) in these terms, "*On the See of Old Rome, because that city was the ruling one,* the Fathers have properly conferred the pre-eminence* ; this being followed up by a decree raising the *new Rome* to equality with the *old*. But so far was this formal, or nominal, equalizing of the two from weakening the influence of the old, that

"From this time forth, there was no important ecclesiastical controversy in the East, in which each party did not endeavour to gain over the Bishop of Rome, and, through him, the West to its side ; for which purpose both flatteries were applied, and a presumptuous tone submitted to. At the Councils, his legates were treated with peculiar deference. Chalcedon (451) was the first general Council where they presided."—GIESELER, *Ecccl. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 427–429.

* διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην. We may add here a statement from the *Pope and the Council*, by Janus, with a remark on the same—"If it was often affirmed, as by the Council of Chalcedon, that the Roman Church had received its privileges from the Fathers, we shall have to consider that the Primacy itself, the first rank among Churches, was not given to it by any Synod at any fixed time, but had always existed since the time of the Apostles, and that to any heathen who asked which among their Churches was the first and principal one, whose voice and testimony had the greatest weight and influence, every Christian would have answered at once that it was the Roman Church, where the two chief Apostles, Peter and Paul, sealed their testimony with their blood, just as Irenaeus has expressed it." (Preface, p. 23.)

Now it is extremely natural for any Romanist—even of the mild type of Janus, believing in Primacy, but not in Papacy—to write thus. And there is certainly truth in the *positive* part of the statement, [he refers afterwards with more fairness to Chalcedon, p. 82] as we can see from Irenaeus here referred to, and Tertullian as quoted below. [p. 141.] All which only serves to show what an amount of superstition had got into the Church, when ideas about *places*, so *anti-scriptural*, so heathenish, had gained such power. Still there remains the question, But how did the deaths of even Peter and Paul—granting them both—set Rome above Jerusalem?—a question which brings up again the radical idea of the superstition, the worship, that had become so natural, before the shrine of old *Roma*. For say what we will, the halo of these martyrdoms can never be dissociated from this ; nor can even the "*Tu es Petrus*" stand without it.

It thus appears that the view taken, in these times, of the true ground of the Bishop of Rome's precedence is in entire harmony with all that was then considered natural and expedient—whatever might be the peculiar claims of the Pope himself. For nothing can be more certain than that it was the civil standing of a place which really determined its ecclesiastical. So vain is it to speak of *apostolical* origin in this connection. Thus Alexandria, as the second city of the Empire, long maintained the same ecclesiastical rank—though its Church sprang at the very most from the preaching of Mark. Antioch, the third city, took the third place ecclesiastically, though its Church had certainly been founded before any Apostle visited it. While Jerusalem, the mother of all the Churches, soon fell entirely into the shade, until idle pilgrimages brought it into repute again. As for Caesarea, so pre-eminently apostolical—Caesarea where Peter himself had opened the kingdom of God to the Gentiles—it was never more than a simple bishopric; the same being true of Corinth, and Philippi, and Ephesus, whilst, as for Thessalonica, its bishop became, *from his civil standing*, “ecclesiastical head of East Illyricum”—gaining nothing at all by his noble apostolic descent, but—when from political changes he had lost this political headship—stooping to accept in exchange the position of Papal *vicar* in the Illyrian province.*

* The following sentence presents us with the whole case: “This division of the Church took place soon after the division of the Empire by Constantine, on which it was founded. It was first introduced by custom, but afterwards confirmed by several Councils, especially at Chalcedon, where it was decreed by the 28th Canon, that *bishops should have precedence, according to the dignity of the cities as settled by the Secular Constitutions of the Empire.*”—BOWER, vol. i. p. 315.

Thus, whatever the pretensions of Rome to precedence on account of apostolical descent, it is certain that throughout the Church, without an exception, it was the civil standing of any place that determined its ecclesiastical rank.

Let us take a few illustrations. In 260 A.D., when as yet the Petro-Papal theory was unknown, certain in Alexandria accuse, of some heretical point, to Pope Dionysius, their own distinguished bishop of the same name. The appeal is accepted, a council called; the explanation of the accused asked for, submitted, and approved, upon which he is pronounced by the Roman Council an orthodox man. (BOWER, *History of Popes*, vol. i. p. 75.)

In 339 Athanasius, having been banished to Trèves, is allowed to return to Alexandria. The Arians accuse him afresh to the Emperor, and also *by deputies to the Pope*. Athanasius sends counter-deputies, by whom these are so confounded that they beg the Pope, Julius, to summon a council for the settling of the case. The council is held, and Athanasius cleared by the fifty bishops composing it. (BOWER, vol. i. p. 116.)

Some time after this the great Basil of Caesarea applies to Pope Damasus to act as *mediator* in the matter of an episcopal dissension at Antioch, by *sending deputies* thither to assist in the case, while at the same time the Roman bishop, *in conjunction with other Western ones*, is addressed in the same view by certain of the Eastern. Damasus, much to the disgust of Basil, treats the application with contemptuous neglect. And yet, after all, Basil—in his *extreme* trouble about the Apollinarian heresy, and de-

spairing of any settlement among his own contentious Easterns—again applies to the ungracious Damasus, begging him to call a council (377), and condemn the heresy. And this, as more congenial to him, the Pope does. (BOWER, vol. i. p. 199.)

Once more, Chrysostom, unjustly deposed from his great eastern see, sends to beg the interposition of the Pope, Innocent I., "entreating him (in conjunction with the Bishops of Milan and Aquileia, the chief sees of the West) to declare such wicked proceedings null and void, to pronounce all who had any share in them punishable according to the ecclesiastical laws, and to continue to him the marks of his charity and communion." (BOWER, vol. i. p. 294.) A strange proceeding this, and one that must have greatly pleased the man who first formalized the Petro-Papal doctrine. And yet it is certain that the great Eastern bishop meant nothing more than the council of his own city meant when, twenty-two years before, as we have seen, it proclaimed the ecclesiastical precedence of the Roman bishop, *on the ground of the civil precedence of Rome itself*.

Upon the whole it just appears that the distracted Easterns, worn out with the interminable word-warfare of their own restless and factious people, were glad to address themselves in their extremity to the Westerns, of whom the Pope was unquestionably the most influential, in the hope of obtaining a decision to which all might bow. This was the true meaning of all respectable appeals from the East to Rome. To what they grew in other respects, as days became darker, is another question. But as to the

Greek Fathers, who had any concern in such matters, we know that they laid no more stress on what afterwards became the Papal cornerstone than Protestants themselves do now. And whether it was East or West that adopted such steps, it is an extremely simple matter to understand that

“as it had been customary in civil affairs to refer to Rome for direction, a like practice of asking for advice in difficult matters arose in the Church; and it became usual to address applications of this kind to the Bishop of Rome from all parts of the world.” (ROBERTSON, p. 79.) Nor did the parallel rest here. For “as it had been customary to consider the *current laws* of Rome as the standard in doubtful cases of civil jurisprudence . . . so the Roman bishop took occasion to issue a great number of didactic letters (*epistolae decretales*), which soon assumed the tone of apostolic ordinances.”

The first of these, acknowledged as genuine, is from Pope Siricius to a Spanish bishop in 385. Now, whatever of apostolic pretence there might be in the claim thus made, it would be a strange disregard of historical sequence to ignore the true *Roman* origin of all such decrees.* Nothing in the world ever brought them into repute, except the fact that they were first *Roman*. And, once that the Pope had been installed into the ecclesiastical management of Roman provinces, nothing could be more natural than that, as a Roman governor, he should issue his *decreta*.

* “*Decretum* in Roman law means the decision of a college, *e.g.* Pontificum, Senatus,” &c. (GIESELER, vol. i. p. 436.) “The *decretum* of the Emperor was a decision made in a matter of dispute, which came before him, either originally, or by way of appeal.” (*Penny Cyclop.*, Roman Law.) “The decrees of the Emperor were transmitted to the provinces, as general or special laws, which the magistrates were bound to execute, and the people to obey.”—GIBBON, vol. viii. p. 20.

In writing the above, we are not forgetting that synodical decisions were sometimes called *decreta* (*e.g.* Conc. Carthag. in 397.—See Gieseler, *ibid.*). But the point now is the style of the *individual Bishop of Rome*.

Secondly. In conjunction with this civil pre-eminence of Rome, there soon came into operation the great ecclesiastical tradition, or fiction, that the Church of Rome owed its origin to the two greatest of apostolical builders, Peter and Paul. And such was the indolence, ignorance, and superstition of those days that men actually believed that the doctrine taught by these Apostles might be truly ascertained by consulting the Roman bishop, on any occasion. He had become, from his position, the depository of all truth—so that to submit each difficulty to him seemed as natural as for a troubled heathen to visit an Egyptian or Grecian oracle. “Not by human, but divine sentence, the Fathers decreed (says Pope Innocent I. with an audacity truly Roman) that whatever question might arise in connection with the provinces, even the disjoined and remote, no conclusion should be arrived at till it had come to the cognizance of *this see*.” That was “*the Apostolic tribunal* to which, after Episcopal judgment, all greater cases were to be referred.” (GIESELER, vol. i. p. 436.) *

How such sentiments originated, and to what they grew, appears strikingly from the famous passage of Tertullian.

“Come now, go through the apostolical churches, in which the very seats of the Apostles at this very day do preside over their own places; in which their own authentic writings are read, speaking with the voice of each, and making the face of each present to the eye. Is Achaia near to thee? Thou hast Corinth. If thou art not far from Macedonia, thou hast Philippi, thou hast the Thessalonians. If thou canst travel into

* This reference to the Fathers is given, it will be observed, with a very convenient generality. Nor can one imagine to what he is alluding, unless it be to that impotent Council of Sardica which the Popes could never forget, and of which notice will be taken below.

Asia, thou hast Ephesus ; but if thou art near to Italy, thou hast Rome, where we also have an authority near at hand. What a happy Church is that ! on which the Apostles poured out all their doctrine with their blood ; where *Peter* had a like passion with the Lord ; where *Paul* had for his crown the same death with John the Baptist ; where the Apostle *John* was plunged into boiling oil, and suffered nothing, and was afterwards banished to an island. Let us see what she (the Roman Church) hath learned, what taught."

But enough—Tertullian little knew what was coming, and how his apostolic fountains should soon be dried up, and Rome should gain *her* pre-eminence, by other means than *he* would have counted apostolical. It seems, however, that he had paid too little heed to the warning of removal as given even to an apostolic candlestick.

To see what ground this fiction of the "apostolical" had gained in the fourth century, suffice it to refer to the enactment of Theodosius to this effect, that—

"All nations, governed by our gentle clemency, shall practise that religion which the divine Apostle Peter declares himself to have delivered to the Romans." *

But *Thirdly*—In order to a resistless and lasting domination, there was still something wanting, in the form of a stronger appeal to the superstitious imagination of the times, and that was supplied, once for all, by the astounding fiction of *Peter's supremacy* over all other Christian teachers and rulers. "Thou art Peter," &c.—a bold misinterpretation, and still bolder misapplication of that, served the entire purpose. The Romish creed indeed in its basis and method might almost have served as the prototype for that Arabian one which so soon followed.

* RANKE, *Hist. Popes*, vol. i. p. 8 ; Bohn's Ed.

For, while the latter so boldly announced, "There is one God, and Mahomet is His prophet"—the other had, with a startling resemblance, proclaimed—"There is one chief, even Peter, and the Pope is his Vicar."

The Eastern system was based on one grand truth, and one gross lie. The Western consisted of nothing but two enormous falsehoods. As to shameless boldness the systems were equal enough, and their success was not ill-proportioned to their boldness. If in flagrant dishonesty the Arabian pretender out-shot his rival, in arrogance at least the Roman was no way behind him. Mahomet well calculated that if only his people would accept from him the stupendous fable* of the night journey, they would find nothing then to stumble at; and the Pope had an equal right to argue that if only the Christians of the time would receive his travesty of "Thou art Peter," &c., all the rest would become easy.

Thus Peter became practically Lord and Saviour—his

* The whole object of this fable was to exalt the authority of Mahomet, and gain unbounded credit for his word—the most moderate version of it being this: That one night he had his heart taken out, washed, and replaced—after which Gabriel conducted him into the various heavens, from the first to the seventh—at each of which he was greeted as "the best prophet" by Adam, Jesus, Joseph, Enoch, Aaron, Moses, Abraham, in succession—then he came to the tree Sedra, the leaves of which are as big as the ears of an elephant—then to the four rivers of Paradise, and the house of visitation, into which 70,000 angels go daily, and then to the Throne of God, where he was ordered to pray fifty times a day, and, after repeated solicitations made by the advice of Moses, had the number reduced to *five*. This is modest, compared with the account in which Abraham begs an interest in Mahomet's prayers, and the beast Alborac refuses to go till Mahomet has promised him a place in Paradise, and one of the cocks in heaven is 500 days' journey from his feet to his head, and one of the angels 70,000 such days between his eyes. And yet Mahomet never set up for "a god upon earth."—OCKLEY, *Hist. Saracens*, pp. 20-25.

favour life, his frown death ; all which was made plain to the world in general by the most open announcement—whilst it was specially whispered, as occasion might serve, into the ears of princes, or thundered out to the confusion of obstinate ecclesiastics. Thus it came to be well understood that to maintain the honour of *his*, that is, the Roman, See, was a merit sufficient to cancel any crime, and secure any benefit. Illustrations of these various points will be given as we proceed.

CHAPTER VII.

FOURTH TRUMPET—CONTINUED.

HISTORICAL VIEW FROM INNOCENT I. (402) TO THE FALL OF ROME (476).

COMING now to the history of this great imposture, Innocent I. (402–417) may fairly be regarded as its true father. His plea is that

Peter alone of all the Apostles ever preached in the West, and that by him or *his* successors only, were all the churches there founded. *Therefore* all those churches are bound to observe every custom in use in the Roman—*because* every point of ecclesiastical discipline and polity was settled by the Apostles, and whatever was settled at Rome by Peter having been strictly observed there without intermission—*therefore* it was unlawful for any western “Bishop to make the least alteration in the discipline of his church.”—BOWER, vol. i. p. 319.

Thus could this bold man make and unmake history—substituting in its stead, by his naked dogmatism, a pure Papal romance. That it was as he asserted he could not possibly know; that in very many cases it was not he could and did know. For, while it was, in point of principle, a very extraordinary thing to deny to the great evangelistic Apostle Paul the founding, either personally or by his associates, of a single Church in Italy, or the West—it was no less so to ignore that Apostle's own references to his journeyings there. For not to speak of

Spain, and what his full purpose of visiting it implied, he distinctly connects himself with Illyricum, Dalmatia, Epirus. (Rom. xv. 19; 2 Tim. iv. 10; Titus iii. 12.) Besides which, it was a strange disrespect to such a one to teach that his three months in Melita, and three days in Sicily (Acts xxviii.), had positively led to none of the results in question. Thus did Innocent I. cruelly presume both on popular and clerical ignorance of history and Scripture, when he not only dared to ignore everything of this kind, but dared to coin a monstrous fact for the occasion, and to set up that as the actual cornerstone in the great Petro-Papal foundation. And as strange as any feature in the case is this that, while to the Apostle of the Gentiles there was denied all part in Church founding—because then the undivided claim of Peter's successor would be gone—there was yet assigned to his tomb and relics nothing less than the importance of a first-class idol-temple, because now the dead Paul served as a powerful auxiliary to the dead Peter.

After Innocent came Zosimus, the first to employ the form, '*For so it has pleased the Apostolic See*'—thus building on his predecessor's foundation. One incident in his pontificate, besides illustrating Rome's ecclesiastical pretensions, gives a striking view of the way in which it had come to be assumed that anything befitted the *Church*, if only it was, or might appear to be, *Roman*.

In 418 Apiarius, an African Presbyter, deposed for serious crimes, appealed to Rome. Zosimus, without hearing the other side, at once restored him. This the African Bishops refused to listen to; upon which Zosimus

had two canons of the Council of Sardica* copied out, as if authorizing his jurisdiction, and despatched three legates, armed with those weapons, to meet the African Bishops. Having stated their case, and insisted stoutly on the Pope's authority, the legates are asked for their instructions in writing. After much hesitation these same Sardican canons are produced, *as if genuine canons of the Council of Nice*. The Africans are astounded—declaring that they had never heard of such canons—that none such were in their copies of the Acts of Nice—but they would at once send to the East, and make enquiry. This was received as an insufferable insult to the Bishop of Rome—as if *he* could be guilty of such forgery and fraud; anyhow, he must be the one to see and judge of the originals; but even if it be as the Africans allege, still

“It matters not whether these canons are to be found in your copies, or indeed in any other. You must know that the Canons and ordinances of Nice, which have been handed down to us by *tradition*, and established by custom, are no less binding than those that have been conveyed by writing.”—BOWER, vol. i. p. 372.

* It is of consequence that we understand well about this Sardican Council. At Sardica (Sophia in Bulgaria) in 347 (22 years after the famous Council of Nice), there took place, at the Eastern Emperor's call, a gathering of about 100 Western and 75 Eastern Bishops. These, at an early stage, separated—the former remaining at Sardica, and the latter holding a rival Council at Philippopolis. Over the Westerns Hosius of Seville presided, and made the proposal (with this preface—*si vobis placet sancti Petri Apostoli memoriam honoremus*) that, in certain disputed cases of sentences upon bishops, reference should be made to Julius, then Bishop of Rome, with a view to certain arrangements. The unanimous answer was, *Placet*. Now (1) *Sardica* was not *Nice*. (2) This was no general council, nor was ever acknowledged as such; and none knew these two things better than they of Rome. And yet this same Sardican decision became, *as though it had been a genuine Nicene decree, the ecclesiastical ground of unlimited appeals to Rome* for full judgment, not only in episcopal, but clerical disputes generally.—See CANON ROBERTSON, p. 67. GISELER, vol. i. p. 433. BOWER, vol. i. p. 122.

This last—to digress for a moment—is the peculiarly *Roman* principle just alluded to; and what but one idea ever led the Head of the Roman Church to identify his cause with the Roman state and law in so extraordinary a manner?

“In causes where we do not employ written laws (so says the Digest of Roman law), regard is to be had to that which has come in by use and wont; and if in any thing this be wanting, then that which is nearest to it and consequent upon it; and if not even this appears, then that which the city Rome holds for right (*jus quo urbs Roma utitur*) ought to be observed.”—GIESSELER, vol. i. p. 436.

But to return. The search is made, no such canons exist—“and Boniface, a man of truth and honesty, who had meanwhile succeeded Zosimus, orders the matter to cease.”* Seven years later, the same Apiarius, again deposed for new offences, appeals to Pope Celestine, who receives him into his communion, and sends him home with a legate charged to see him reinstated. The matter is again argued before the African Bishops; and so plausibly did the accused plead that the legate was, after three days of trial, already triumphing in the expected victory, when suddenly the wretched man, conscience-smitten, made confession of crimes which have come down to us simply as *unmentionable*.† The result was that the African Bishops utterly repudiated all Roman interference with their jurisdiction. “*We therefore earnestly beg you*

* BOWER, vol. i. p. 375.

† We may state that Augustine was one of the Bishops concerned in this case. And any one who has looked into his famous *De Civitate Dei*, and seen the matters on which he can dilate—to us all unmentionable as they are—may feel himself able, or unable, to conceive what the offences could be which African Bishops in the fifth century could not mention.

would send no more legates, nor ecclesiastics, to execute your judgments here. For we find no such ordinance in any council, nor in the writings of the Fathers." (BOWER, vol. i. p. 379.) Thus did Rome fight, and lose, this battle in Africa. And this was the prelude to her ultimate defeat in that quarter.

It was not long, however, before opportunity came for gaining an important advantage in another direction. Nestorius of Constantinople had been publishing things offensive to certain ears—as, that Mary should not be called *mother of God*, and so forth. Such frightful heresy drew into the strife the notorious Cyril of Alexandria, who, alleging that all the Eastern Bishops were with him, appealed to Celestine for a judgment from himself and his subordinates. Celestine, ever ready for such work, calls a council of Western Bishops at Rome, condemns Nestorius, and appoints Cyril to act at the approaching Council of Ephesus, *in the name, and with the authority of the Roman See,** for the deposing and excommunicating of the condemned. What the Council of Ephesus was and did, or how Cyril carried out his wrath against the unhappy Nestorius, need not here be told.

A few years after Celestine, came Leo I. (440-461) known as *the Great*; by whom was fully developed what Innocent had so distinctly introduced—so that he is commonly regarded as the Founder of the Papal Monarchy.† The following will show his style of action.

* BOWER, vol. i. p. 390.

† One important measure of Leo should be carefully noted. Discouraging the practice of *public confession*, he enjoined that it should be private, and to the priest. And "when he thus delivered over the conscience of

In the year 445, Celidonius, Bishop of Besançon, is deposed for certain well-proved canonical offences by a council of Gallican Bishops, presided over by the esteemed Hilary of Arles, Exarch of the seven provinces of Narbonne. Upon this, Celidonius, repairing to Rome, appeals to Leo, who at once receives him into his communion, and allows him to exercise his episcopal functions in the city. Meanwhile Hilary, taking the same journey, respectfully lays the case before the Pope—firmly maintaining at the same time that it was one solely for Gallican jurisdiction. But to no purpose. Leo annuls the judgment, restores Celidonius, and declares Hilary cut off from the communion of the Apostolic See—depriving him of his official rank, and suppressing the office of *Exarch*. And, not content with this, he writes in regard to one of whom we know nothing but what is good, as being a disgrace to the Episcopal order, and guilty of serious crimes—which, when more particularly specified, amount to nothing beyond certain acts of unsubmission to the will of the Roman Bishop. In the same communication, Leo (Epist. 14) boldly asserts that his predecessors had frequently revised judgments given in Gaul; though there is every reason to regard this appeal of Celidonius as the first ever made from Gaul to Rome.

To show what was involved in this proceeding we must the people into the hands of the priests—when he consigned the most secret acts and thoughts of individual imperfection to the torture of private inquisition and scrutiny—Leo the Great had indeed the glory of laying the first and corner-stone of the Papal edifice—that on which it rose and rested, and without which the industry of his successors would have been vainly exerted, or (as is more probable) their boldest projects could never have been formed."—WADDINGTON, p. 126.

give the Pope's own plea for it. That, as expressed by him in a letter to the Bishops of the Province of Vienne, was this—

“Our Lord has appointed that His divine truth should flow through the Apostolic pipes (tuba) for the salvation of all—but this, the gift granted to all the Apostles, resides principally in the blessed Peter, chief of them all, from whom as a head the Lord chose that His gifts should flow into the whole body, so that whosoever withdraws from the firmness (or ? wholeness, *soliditate*) of Peter cuts himself off from the divine mystery. For thus did the Lord express the oneness and fellowship of that Apostle with Himself—‘Thou art Peter,’ &c.—in order that thus the building of the eternal Temple, by the wonderful gift of the grace of God, might consist in the firmness of Peter (*in Petri soliditate consisteret.*)”—GIESELER, vol. i. p. 451.

But now, as if conscious that something beyond assertion was wanted, he applies for the imperial sanction to his act. Hence the famous decree of Valentinian—obtained from the weakness of that Emperor, and dictated, as can hardly be questioned, by Leo himself—in which it is clearly laid down that the *will* of the Pope is to be taken as *law* by the whole Western Church. The following is the decree:—

“Since the authority of a (the) sacred synod has confirmed the merited primacy of the Apostolic See of the blessed Peter, who is the chief (princeps) of the Episcopal crown, and the dignity of the Roman State, let no unlawful presumption dare to attempt aught apart from the authority of his See. For thus only will the peace of the Churches be everywhere maintained, when all acknowledge their ruler. . . . And we forbid both the Bishops of Gaul, and of other provinces, to attempt anything contrary to the authority of the venerable man, the Pope of the Eternal City. And let this be the law for them and for all (viz., whatever the authority of the Apostolic See has sanctioned or shall sanction) so that whosoever, when summoned, shall neglect to appear before the Roman Pontiff, shall by the governor of his province be compelled to present himself.”—GIESELER, vol. i. p. 452.

To this the Emperor adds:

"That as Leo has a right to command what he pleases with respect to the discipline of the Church, there ought to have been no occasion for any authority but his own to make all men concur in executing the judgment which he had lately given against Hilarius, whom he styles a traitor, and an enemy both to the Church and State, both to Leo and himself; nay he imputes it to him as a crime, that he had, by a bold and unprecedented attempt, deposed some Bishops, and ordained others, without having first consulted the Bishop of Rome."—BOWER, vol. ii. p. 14.

Meanwhile Hilary falls dangerously ill, and desires by all means—saving his conscience—a reconciliation with Leo. With this view he sends without avail two deputies to Rome. These again employ the mediation of one of the principal men there, but still to no purpose; Leo continues immovable, implacable. And if the end sanctify the means he was clearly right; for no means could be fitter to set up the dominion which he had in view. Nor was it in the least inconsistent with all this, as might be thought, when Leo afterwards spoke of "Hilary of holy memory," "an upright and pious man." (Epp. 50, 106.) For his victory was just so much the greater by being over such a one. And as for Hilary's relation to the Church of Rome—instead of having the character of alien, rebel, and traitor, which the Pope sought to fasten upon him, he is now honoured as a saint of the first class. One Romish way of justifying both the oppressor and the oppressed in this matter is by pleading that "Hilary was guilty before Leo, but not before God." (See BOWER, vol. ii. pp. 9–19.) That is to say, Leo chose to call him—and to count him, it may be, from his Papal standpoint—guilty, while really *he was innocent.*

So much for Leo's action in this famous case. Before leaving him, we notice his share in the great Council of Chalcedon. In 449 had been held the notorious Second Council of Ephesus, known in history as *Latrocinium*, or *Robbers' Synod*. Leo, much disturbed by the heretical decisions of that Council, was moving heaven and earth to have another called in Italy—over which he himself might preside. In the following year, the Emperor Valentinian, with Placidia and Eudoxia (his mother and wife) had come to Rome to visit the shrines of the Apostles. Leo received them in the church of St. Peter, with a singular greeting of tears and sighs; and then, having set forth the dangers of the Church, began with fresh tears to entreat them by St. Peter, and their own salvation, as well as that of Theodosius the Eastern Emperor, that they would do their utmost to have the much-needed Council called—so as “to refer the whole question to the judgment of the Apostolic See.” At length the Council is called—not for Italy however, but Chalcedon. Excusing himself from attending a council beyond the sea, Leo sends his legates with the charge that nothing be done but in their presence; and that they withdraw altogether rather than resign the presidency which he claimed for them—furnishing them at the same time with a doctrinal statement for the adoption of the Council, and a sentence of deposition against no less a person than the Patriarch of Alexandria.*

* “Leo, Archbishop of the great and ancient Rome, by us, and the present Synod, with the authority of St. Peter, on whom the Catholic Church and orthodox faith are founded, divests Dioscurus of the Episcopal dignity, and declares him henceforth incapable of exercising any sacerdotal or Episcopal functions.”—BOWER, vol. ii. p. 60.

All this, then, is only a fair sample of the overbearing spirit of this remarkable man. He may, for aught we know, have had "every virtue compatible with an unbounded ambition;" but how many these might be we cannot tell. *Justice* could hardly, we imagine, be one. It is probable that Leo's principle in regard to this did not differ much from that of the great Julius.* As to *humility*—that must ever be simply meanness in the estimation of "unbounded ambition;" and as for *love*, our neighbour must step aside when such a passion comes forward. Nor will it surprise us to find that, with such an ambition, a man cannot always afford to be the slave of truth, any more than an emperor of Morocco can. Certainly there seems to be little either of justice, or humility, or love, or truth, in Leo's persecution of the living Hilary.

In regard especially to his terrible deficiency in the last of these qualities, we take some examples from a very respectable and moderate writer, who may be depended upon as too charitable to overstate such faults. The *first* example is this—

"Leo, with a reckless defiance of historical fact, declared the pretensions and practices of his Church to be matter of unbroken apostolical tradition—ascribing that venerable character to rules which had been introduced within the last half century by Siricius, and even by later Bishops. And under such pretences he tried to enforce the usages of Rome on the whole Church."—Canon ROBERTSON, p. 95.

Secondly—"Leo, in more than one instance, repeated the attempt that Zosimus had made to pass off the Sardican Canon, as to appeals, for one

* Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas. (Suet. vii. Jul., p. 30.)

of the Council of Nice.* So, when urging the Emperor to summon a fresh Council, and that in Italy, he cited the Sardican canon on appeals as if it had been Nicene—"decreed by the priests of the whole world." (*Ib.*, p. 102, quoting from Leo, Ep. 44.)

Once more, in connection with the Council of Chalcedon, Leo's truthfulness is greatly at fault. For, being much annoyed at the principle of *civil rank* as asserted in Canon 28,

"He denied, with his usual audacity, that the precedence of Sees had ever depended on the importance of their cities. He asserted that the Canon of the Second General Council (Constantinople, 381) on the subject had never been acted on or notified to the Roman See; although his own legates at the very Council of Chalcedon" had shown their acquaintance with it—in the fact of their joining in a complaint against the LATROCINIUM for degrading the Bishop of Constantinople from the second rank, as assigned to him by the Council in question. (ROBERTSON, p. 106.) Nor did all this suffice—for in his letters written after the Council, he studiously represented his legates as having judicially decided matters on which they had only been allowed to give their opinion like others. (p. 107.) And once more, in the copy of the Nicæan Canons (Latin translation) submitted by Leo's legates to the Council of Chalcedon, it was said that *the See of Rome had always enjoyed the primacy*. But the Fathers had never heard of such a canon—pronounced it a forgery—and obliged the abandonment of it.† And yet, successful or not, such was the style of Roman action under this man of "holy life," and such the character of Roman dominion. But if in the Founder there was so little truthfulness, we need not wonder if the foundation be equally deficient.

After Leo, Pope Hilary worthily busies himself in building on this new foundation. The deference due to St. Peter and his See, these are his first thoughts, and all-sufficient arguments. And thus he rivets, especially upon

* In the Appendix to Leo's works this deception is carried a step further. For the application, as allowed to the Pope by the later Council (347), is spoken of as addressed not to Julius the then bishop, but to Sylvester of the Nicæan date (325).

† BOWER, vol. ii. p. 81.

Gaul, the new Roman chains, with a zeal that would not ill have befitted the first of the Caesars.

Hilary is followed by Simplicius (467–483), who acts equally upon Spain, with a view to which he adopts the subtle plan of employing, as his vicars, certain of the chief ecclesiastics in the country—thus by the strongest bonds attaching them to himself.

The end is at hand, and Rome is drawing near to her fall. For this, however, and the consequent reaction, a wonderful preparation has taken place. Valentinian may have been weak, but his edict was strong. Rome was already in her death throes; and now this impotent ruler, by handing over so many of his subjects to the Pope, has, in conjunction with a Leo, breathed into the expiring frame a life from which is destined to spring a new existence. True, they were only ecclesiastics who were planning and preparing for that renewal. But then, unfortunately, ecclesiastics had become much too important personages on the world's arena; and the world itself, tamely yielding its neck, had become half, or more than half, ecclesiastic also. What then, if *they* should be the new rulers in that dominion for which already they had prepared the nations? This may seem to some very strange, and very mean. And it may be all that, and more too. But enough if it be the *fact*—and if, in this fact there be recognizable a true Roman sun—though dimmed for a time—still shining from the palaces of the Imperial City.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOURTH TRUMPET—CONTINUED.

FROM THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE TO GREGORY I. (590).

HAVING thus arrived at the Fall of the Empire, we glance at the chief things that concern us down to the accession of Gregory.

Felix II. (483–492) excommunicates Acacius, the illustrious patriarch of Constantinople, for certain alleged minute ecclesiastical offences. It was the boldest thing yet done by a Pope, and led to a schism of thirty-five years' standing between the Eastern and Western Churches.

Gelasius, the *high-handed*, as we may call him, (492–496) demands that Acacius, now dead, shall be struck off the Episcopal roll. His life is a constant warfare for the dignity of his See; of which one instance must be given.

He it was who “about 495 for the first time insulted the Greeks, and their 28th Canon of Chalcedon, by affirming that every Council must be confirmed, and every Church judged, by Rome; but she can be judged by none. It was not by canons, as the Council of Chalcedon affirmed, but by the word of Christ, that she received the primacy.” (JANUS, p. 125.) It was set forth in the same *decree* that “the Roman Church, not having spot or wrinkle, was consecrated and exalted above all other churches by the presence, as well as by the death, martyrdom, and

glorious triumph, of the two chief Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, who suffered at Rome under Nero, not at different times, as the heretics say, but at the same time, and on the same day.”—BOWER, vol. ii. p. 233.*

Anastasius (496–498) endeavours, always saving the dignity of Peter, to make peace in the matter of Acacius; and on this account becomes obnoxious to the Roman clergy.

In his time took place one of the grandest of ecclesiastical events, the baptism of the first Catholic sovereign from among the Gothic nations, Clovis the king of the Franks. It is true that his crimes seem to have increased with his Christian profession. But he presented St. Peter with a rich jewelled crown of gold; continued strictly orthodox in the Roman sense;† and thus not only were all his misdeeds atoned for, but he became “the most Christian king,” and “eldest son of the Church”—neither world nor Church then imagining how momentous for both was to be that adoptive act.

Symmachus, that man of *boundless arrogance*, after something like civil war with a certain *Laurentius* for the great prize, rules 498–514. A Council being summoned by

* These assumptions of Gelasius were followed after his death by four forgeries in support of them—including a letter from the Nicene Council to Pope Sylvester, and the fabulous history of a Synod held by that Pope.—JANUS, p. 125.

† “Thus Gregory of Tours relates, without disguise, the crimes of Clovis, and yet he passes this judgment on him—‘For daily God prostrated his enemies under his hand, and increased his kingdom, because he walked with an upright heart before Him, and did those things that were pleasing in His eyes.’ It is nothing but moral barbarousness, when Gregory admits and disapproves the crimes of Clovis, and yet designates him as pious on account of his confession,”—that is, of the doctrine of “*Beata Trinitas*.”—See GIESELER, vol. ii. p. 160, with quotations from the original.

Theodoric to try him for certain gross offences, it was urged that he was "above all human judgment, and accountable to God alone." "The Pontiff, said his flatterer Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, judges in the place of God, was amenable to no human authority, and was thus exalted to supreme power on earth."* On the other hand, continues the author now quoted, "There are numerous proofs that the Emperors, as well as some whole nations, would not patiently bear the new yoke. The Gothic kings of Italy would not allow the Bishops of Rome to *domineer exclusively there*." Or, in a figure with which we are now familiar, the Roman Sun had not yet sufficient power to melt down the opposition which the new claims had aroused, and to mature the fruit which was in due time to spring from them. For even now the Roman Pontiff had "laid claim to an ample dominion, both in heaven and earth." (GIBBON, vol. vii. p. 38.) This is the Pope who ventures to tell the Eastern Emperor that the successor of St. Peter is at least as great as an Emperor. Yes, he argues that a "Bishop is as much above an Emperor as heavenly things are above the trash of earth," and "that *the higher powers*, to which every soul is to be subject, are no other than the spiritual."

So much for Pope Symmachus, whose flatterer Ennodius "first invented the notion of Papal infallibility."

"The blessed Peter," said he, "has conveyed to his successors a dowry of merit with a heritage of innocence; what to him was conceded for the brightness of his actions belongs to those whom an equal splendour of condition illuminates; for who can doubt that he is holy whom the apex

* MOSHEIM, *Church History, with Reid's Notes*, p. 216.

of such a dignity lifts up ?—in whose case, if the good things acquired by merit are wanting, those supplied by the forerunner will suffice. For to this position he either raises those already illustrious, or those who are raised to it he makes illustrious."—GIESSELER, vol. ii. p. 125. *

Hormisdas (whom it would be no slander to call the *ruthless*, 514–523) pursues more relentlessly than ever the memory of *Acacius*—urging the emperor Justin to persecute to the death whoever resisted the proposed act—*i.e.* the erasing of certain names from the list of Bishops. This Pope extends his power over all the Provinces of Spain by the appointment of the Bishops of Tarragon and Seville as his vicars in that country.

John (532–5) despatched by Theodoric, as his ambassador to Constantinople, to secure religious liberty for the Arians in the East,

* The following will show how, out of a random thread like this, many strange webs came to be spun. "Isidore (in the *False Decretals*) eagerly seized on this, and invented two Roman Synods which had unanimously approved and subscribed the work of Ennodius. Gregory VII. made this holiness of all Popes, which he said he had personal experience of, the foundation of his claim to universal dominion. Every sovereign, he said, however good before, becomes corrupted by the use of power, whereas every rightly appointed Pope becomes a saint through the imputed merits of St. Peter. Even an exorcist among the clergy, he added, is higher and more powerful than every secular monarch, for he casts out devils, whose slaves princes are. This doctrine of the personal sanctity of every Pope put forward by the Gregorians, and by Gregory VII. himself, as a claim made by Pope Symmachus, was adopted into the codes of canon law. But as notorious facts, and the crimes and excesses of many Popes, which no denials could get rid of, were in glaring contradiction to it, a supplementary theory had to be invented, which Cardinal Deusdedit published under the venerated name of St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany. It was to this effect:—Even if a Pope is so bad that he drags down whole nations to hell with him in troops, nobody can rebuke him; for he who judges all can be judged of no man; the only exception is in case of his swerving from the faith."—JANUS, p. 113.

"Refuses to perform divine service in the great church with the Patriarch, and even to see him, till the latter agrees not only to yield him the first place, but to seat him on a kind of throne above himself"—and all simply, "*quia Romanus esset Pontifex*."—BOWER, vol. ii. p. 316.

Let us note the language. The Emperor was always "Pontifex," till Gratian refused the title as heathenish. Now the Pope has taken to himself the mantle that the Emperor had cast away.

Silverius (536) becomes obnoxious to the notorious Theodora—the heretical empress of the profoundly orthodox Justinian—who fixes upon *Vigilius* as her tool, and provides him, through the agency of Belisarius, with the means of securing the Popedom.

Vigilius (537-555) can only be thought of as the *contemptible*. He is orthodox to Justinian, and the reverse to Theodora. Then he resists Justinian, and justifies "The Three Chapters," of which Justinian is urging with all his might the universal condemnation, in accordance with an Edict of his own to that effect. The famous controversy, known under this expression, we must here explain. The Fourth General Council (Chalcedon in 451) with Pope Leo for its sponsor, had accepted, or declared, the orthodoxy of three bishops suspected of Nestorianism—Theodore (of Mopsuestia), Theodoret, and Ibas. About a hundred years after this, Theodore (of Caesarea), to divert from himself the charge of Origenism, and gratify the Monophysite empress Theodora, brought up afresh the charge of Nestorianism * against the three bishops, in the

* In regard to the two opposite doctrines here referred to, it will be enough to say that the *Nestorian* was supposed to divide the *one person*, while the *Monophysite* certainly confounded the *two natures*, of our Lord.

form of extracts from their writings, known as "The Three Chapters." It was a trap laid for the intensely anti-Nestorian Emperor; and beyond all expectation it succeeded. Justinian was thoroughly caught, and in his most vehement style issued an *Edict* condemning "The Three Chapters," and adjudging their departed authors to the torments of hell. The next thing was to gain the support of the clergy—which led to the summoning of the *Fifth General Council*. In 553 this Council met at Constantinople; and the few Western Bishops who had obeyed the summons, with Pope Vigilius at their head, refusing to take any part in it, the Easterns, in slavish obsequency to their Emperor, pronounced the separation from the Church, and deliverance to Satan, at once of the three deceased authors, and of all living defenders of "The Three Chapters." This, of course, was equivalent to a condemnation of the holy Council of Chalcedon itself as having really justified Nestorianism. No wonder that East and West were rent asunder by such a decision—the banner of the one being the heresy and condemnation, and of the other the orthodoxy and justification of "The Three Chapters." *

As to the Pope, then—being summoned to Constantinople, he goes—resists the Imperial demand—then yields—and, by a formal judgment, (*judicatum*) condemns "The Three Chapters," and excommunicates his own attendant deacons because they refuse to join him—thus alienating from himself the Roman clergy and the whole Western Church. To put himself right with those parties, he next retracts his own act of condemnation—setting up a *con-*

* See the Church Histories, and GIBBON, vol. viii. p. 325.

stitutum against his former *judicatum*, declaring that—as the Fathers of Chalcedon had either not condemned, or had actually justified the three bishops—so to condemn them now would be evidently repugnant to the judgment of that holy Council; he therefore will neither condemn them himself, nor suffer them to be condemned by others. (BOWER, vol. ii. p. 406.) This is too much for the Emperor, who now sends the Pope as a prisoner to the island of Proconnesus in the sea of Marmora. Within five months of his reaching that uncomfortable place, he is converted once more—retracts his last retractation—and, having “examined *with more attention*,” he again condemns the dreadful “Three Chapters,” which he had already, after “*all possible attention*,” justified. He is now released—sent back to Italy, after seven years of enforced absence—and dies by the way.

Pelagius (555–560), his attendant and counterpart, who had justified and condemned “The Three Chapters” as regularly as Vigilius himself, is by the Greek Court made Pope, in spite of Western opposition (he could persuade only two bishops and one presbyter to discharge the sacred office of ordaining him), and has the mortification of seeing the authority of the Roman Church universally disregarded—the Bishops of Gaul, Spain, Italy, and even Ireland condemning his acts and questioning his orthodoxy. As to Africa—after a partial reconciliation with Rome, during the Vandal oppression—the Bishops had already withdrawn in a body from Vigilius, as an apostate from the Catholic faith.

Of the succeeding Popes nothing need be said down to

Pelagius II. (578–590). These were the most terrible times that Italy had yet seen—the Lombard flood surging over the land up to the gates of Rome, and no power in the acknowledged Eastern rulers to stem it. The bitter strife over “The Three Chapters” still continued—Pelagius having, in opposition to the general Western sentiment, *condemned* them. This Pope seems to have had a good measure of persuasive power. But it was all too little to move even the Italian bishops out of their approval of “The Three Chapters,” and so, in conjunction with the Exarch, he next tried persecution; which indeed secured promises, but only to be broken, when they had served their purpose. And thus, even with the help of his secretary Gregory, the matter remained much as before. It is a marvel truly how Rome weathered the storm of that dark and angry night—surviving at once the domination of Justinian, with the rivalry of his magnificent capital—the violence of the Lombards—and the disastrous baseness of Vigilius. By this last she seemed brought as low as on the day when the rash folly of Terentius Varro had laid her at the feet of Hannibal. But as, during the depression of that time, there rose up—for defending and restoring—a Fabius and a Scipio, so there did now; only, this time, the two stood forth in one.

CHAPTER IX.

FOURTH TRUMPET—CONTINUED.

GREGORY I. (590-604.)

“ABOUT the close of the sixth century”—we again avail ourselves of Gibbon’s masterly guidance—

“Amidst the arms of the Lombards, and the despotism of the Greeks, Rome had reached the lowest period of her depression. By the removal of the seat of empire, and the successive loss of the provinces, the sources of public and private opulence were exhausted; the lofty tree, under whose shade the nations of the earth had reposed, was deprived of its leaves and branches, and the sapless trunk was left to wither in the ground.” “Curiosity and ambition no longer attracted the nations to the Capital of the world; while natural calamities, in quick succession, had contributed to the same result as despotism and violence.” It came at last to this that, “like Thebes, or Babylon, or Carthage, the name of Rome might have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a vital principle, which again restored her to honour and dominion.”—(Vol. viii. 158-162.)

This vital principle the historian describes at length, as consisting in the fiction of Peter’s primacy, developed in the last days of the falling Empire. And now, in the estimation of the Romans, and many beside them,*

* The estimation in which the Gauls and Germans had held their priests is here of the greatest importance. “In the days of Paganism, the priests of Gaul and Germany reigned over the people, and controlled the jurisdiction of the magistrates; and the zealous proselytes transferred an equal, or more ample, measure of devout obedience to the pontiffs of the Christian faith.” Again, “The clergy of Gaul consisted almost

"The power, as well as the virtue, of the Apostles, resided with living energy in the breast of their successors ; and the chair of St. Peter was now filled (590-604), under Maurice, by the first, and greatest, of the name of Gregory." This distinguished man, himself a member of one of the noblest of Roman families, had been initiated in the art of government in no less honourable a capacity than that of Prefect of Rome ; and when he now, in the character of deacon, enjoyed the still greater reputation of having renounced the world, "he was sent to the Byzantine court, as the *Nuncio or Minister of the Apostolic See* ; and boldly assumed, in the name of St. Peter, a tone of independent dignity, which would have been criminal and dangerous in the most illustrious layman of the Empire."—*Ib.* p. 162.

Before his mission to the East, Gregory had already exchanged a secular for a monastic life ; and, having made this choice, we need not be surprised to learn that, with his great wealth, "he founded six monasteries in Sicily, and one in Rome, which he chose for his own retreat, having first lavished on the poor all his costly robes, his silk, his gold, his jewels, his furniture ; and, not even assuming to himself the abbacy of his convent, he devoted himself altogether."—MILMAN, *Latin Christianity*.*

How all this is to be estimated we need not now

entirely of native Provincials ; the haughty Franks fell prostrate at the feet of their subjects, who were dignified with the episcopal character ; and the power and riches, which had been lost in war, were insensibly recovered by superstition."—GIBBON, vol. vi. pp. 276, 371. (See also MOSHEIM, *Church History, with Reid's Notes*.)

* Here is an illustration furnished by Gregory himself of his manner of conducting his monastery. One of his monks when dying, was overheard to tell his own brother that he had secreted three pieces of gold somewhere. The money being discovered, Gregory ordered that none of the monks should give any relief to the dying man, or even approach him ; and his brother was required to tell him that he died thus avoided and abhorred by all. Instead of burial, the dead body was thrown on a dunghill, together with the gold—all the monks shouting aloud, "Thy money perish with thee,"—*Greg. Dial.*, l. iv., c. lv., in BOWER, vol. ii. p. 468.

attempt to say. But that Gregory was sincerely sorry to leave his monastery for Constantinople we can well understand, and as glad to re-enter it upon his return.

Gregory was at length raised to the chief place in the Church, as the only pilot to whom at such a crisis the bark of St. Peter might be entrusted.* His behaviour when elected to the Popedom is worthy of notice. For in a style seldom associated with sincerity, he protested and protested against the appointment—took to flight—hid himself in a cave—wrote to the Emperor begging him to withhold his sanction, till all was in vain, and he could only submit. Now it is very natural to remark upon this—"He alone resisted, or *seemed* to resist, his own elevation." (GIBBON.) But that he *did* resist we are quite inclined to believe. Already he had had more of Court and Church business to manage, than was at all conducive to "the salvation of his soul," as that matter was conceived of by him. But having now retired from the world, and resigned himself to the care of his monastery, he expected better opportunity of securing that—while he really trembled at the danger to which the chief place in the Church would expose him. We have but to allow, in short, that one side of the man was an intense religiousness, in order to be satisfied that his sincerity in this

* "At the end of the sixth century, Rome was reduced to so deplorable a state that there was no appearance of its ever being re-established." In this pitiable state of things, "the clergy, senate, and people, hesitated not for a moment, by common consent, to give their voice, by a sudden inspiration of the Holy Spirit, to the holy deacon Gregory—as possessing beyond all others the qualities for governing the bark of St. Peter."—MAIMBOURG, *Hist. Pontif. Greg. I.*, tome i. p. 4.

matter was not affected. But then, on the other hand, having once embarked on the tremendous undertaking, there were other elements of character called out ; nor was he the man to withhold aught of that consummate capacity by which the Papacy could be in any way advanced.

With a Pope like Gregory, then, it now became clearer than ever how conducive to the rise of the Church had been the fall of the Empire. That Rome had been degraded to the second rank of cities, and even treated as an outcast by the Greeks, turned out to be more favourable to her new dominion than any courtly honours could have been. "The temporal power of the Popes insensibly arose from the calamities of the times ; and the Roman Bishops, who have deluged Europe and Asia with blood, were compelled to reign as the ministers of charity and peace."

The illustration of this is presented under two heads.

First. The Church of Rome—with her ample endowments in Italy, Sicily, and the more distant provinces, was immensely rich ; "and her agents, who were commonly Sub-deacons, had acquired a civil, and even criminal, jurisdiction over their tenants and husbandmen." The Romans were, at the same time after their late calamities, to a large extent, miserably poor, nor did Gregory neglect the opportunity thus afforded for extending his influence. Such, in short, was his prudent management, and his liberal distribution of the Church's wealth, that he might justly be styled "the Father of his country."

Secondly. "The misfortunes of Rome involved the Apostolic Pastor in the business of peace and war ; he awakened the Emperor from a long slumber ; exposed the guilt and incapacity of the Exarch, and his inferior ministers ; complained that the veterans were withdrawn from Rome for the defence of Spoleto ; encouraged the Italians to guard their cities and altars ; and condescended, in the crisis of danger, to name the tribunes, and to direct the operations of the provincial troops. Disappointed, at last, in the hope of a general and lasting treaty with the Lombards, he presumed to save his country, without the consent of the Emperor, or the Exarch. The sword of the enemy was suspended over

Rome ; it was averted by the mild eloquence, and seasonable gifts of the Pontiff, who commanded the respect of heretics and barbarians. The merits of Gregory were treated by the Byzantine court with reproach and insult ; but, in the attachment of a grateful people, he found the purest reward of a citizen, and the *best right of a Sovereign*.”—GIBBON, vol. viii. pp. 158–171.

And this, we take it, is precisely the shining, in an eclipsed state, of a genuine Roman Sun.

But it was not to Rome only that the new authority was extended. The Papal Sovereignty was now an *active power among the kingdoms* of the West. About the time of which we speak, the powerful Visigothic kingdom in Spain, having abandoned the Arian cause, submitted itself (or, to say the least, entered upon a course of submission) to the authority of the Roman Pontiff, as in other days, through the arts and arms of Scipio, it had surrendered itself to the Roman Senate and people.* So in 591, the year after Gregory’s accession, the important nation of the Lombards renounced the Arian heresy for the Catholic faith—thus removing the most serious obstacle to the

* Recared the king, who had just been converted to the Catholic faith, sends in 590 a “solemn embassy to Gregory to render him that homage which all Christian princes owe to the Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth ;—at the same time laying on the threshold of the Vatican his rich presents of gold and gems.” (GIBBON, vol. vi. p. 301.) Gregory, in return, “is ashamed to think that, Pope though he is, he has done nothing for the conversion of the nations, when your Excellency will appear before the tribunal of God, followed by this infinite multitude of faithful, whom you have converted, in drawing them to the true faith, through the pains which have been worth to them a continual preaching ;” which pleasant words are accompanied by—“These small keys of gold blessed on the tomb of the holy Apostles, and in which has been put a little of the flings of the chains of St. Peter,—and a cross of gold with a portion of the true cross enclosed—and some hairs of St. John Baptist.”—MAIMBOURG, as above, p. 77.

ecclesiastical dominion of Rome. The transition was wonderfully easy, but not the less decisive. The nation being left without a king after the death of Autharis, it was agreed that his widow Theudelinda—a zealous Catholic, entirely under the influence of Gregory—should choose one of the Lombard Chiefs, as husband for herself, and successor to the throne. Her choice of Agilulph was cordially accepted by the people; and the queen had little difficulty in persuading her grateful husband to accept of her creed; upon which the nation at once followed its sovereigns in their faith.* Thus Italy was now a Catholic land, and the field was clear for the operations that were to ensue.

A few years after this (597) was another great conquest made in the interest of Rome. We refer to Augustine's mission to the Anglo-Saxons.

"Never perhaps was resolution adopted by any Pope whence results more important ensued. Together with the doctrines of Christianity, a veneration

* In corresponding with the Lombard Queen, besides presents to herself, Gregory sends to her daughter, as *phylacteries*, (*i.e.* preservatives against calamities in general) a cross with wood of the true cross, and a portion of the holy gospel.—Epist. vii.

And this, we may here observe, was a constant *practice* of Gregory. Thus we find him writing to a certain nobleman, Andreas, and even the Patriarch of Antioch "he ventured to insult" in almost the same words—"I have sent to you a most sacred key from the body of the blessed Apostle Peter, your guardian, which, when placed upon the sick, is wont to be resplendent with numerous miracles. May, therefore, the chains which held that holy neck, when suspended about yours, sanctify you." (Epist. 30, *Indict.* 9.) In connection with this practice—of which Gregory seems to have been the author—a writer so very candid and liberal as Mr. Waddington remarks—"We may attribute this absurdity to the basest superstition, or to the most *impudent hypocrisy*; and we would gladly have preferred the more excusable notion, if the supposed advancement of the See, which was clearly concerned in these presents, did not rather lead us to the latter."—*Church History*, p. 155.

tion for Rome and for the Holy See, such as had never before existed in any nation, found place among the Germanic Britons. The Anglo-Saxons began to make pilgrimages to Rome; they sent their youth there to be educated; and King Offa established the tax called 'St. Peter's penny,' for the relief of pilgrims, and the education of the clergy. The higher orders proceeded to Rome in the hope that, dying there, a more ready acceptance would be accorded to them by the saints in heaven. The Anglo-Saxons appear to have transferred to Rome and the Christian saints the old Teutonic superstition, by which the gods were described as nearer to some spots of earth than to others, and more readily to be propitiated in places thus favoured."—RANKE, vol. i. p. 11.

"The conquest of Britain"—such is Gibbon's view of the event—"reflects less glory on the name of Caesar, than on that of Gregory the Great."

One of the most characteristic acts in the history of Gregory—but which has received less attention than it deserves—is his dealing in the matter of "The Three Chapters." Between him and the base Vigilius there had intervened thirty-five years, with four Popes, each of whom had followed that miserable man in his ultimate condemnation of the "Chapters"—accepting, of course, the decision of the Fifth Council (or Second of Constantinople)—that Council from which Vigilius himself, with the whole body of Western Bishops, had sullenly stood aloof, though in the same city all the while. What motive those Popes had for following Vigilius in the conversion which Proconnesus had effected in him can easily be imagined. They were simply believing what Justinian, or his successors, bade them, without which they could never have been Popes. And thus too we can understand how, with the Emperor and Pope on the same side, many of the Western Bishops appointed during those thirty-five years—dependent as they were on that double

patronage—must have yielded to the arguments in support of Justinian's policy. Hence the schism must have become narrower than it once was. Still it continued wide; and, except in the cases that had come under the special influence just noted, it does not appear to have been, to any considerable extent, healed. And thus the matter stood when Gregory became Pope. He, of course, had joined in the Papal-Imperial policy of "Three Chapter"-condemnation; else he had never been either Nuncio or Pope. It was a strange dilemma in which such a man was placed. Here, on the one hand, was the Council of Chalcedon—that Council in which Rome had played by far the proudest part yet attempted—virtually justifying three bishops who, a century afterwards, were disinterred, to be tried afresh, and condemned at last; and, together with this, the entire Roman party, when called to take part in this strange proceeding, absolutely refusing; beside all which we have—now nearly forty years later—with the exception of those who were palpably under corrupt influence, the same Western episcopal body still maintaining the same attitude of resistance to the condemning act of that Fifth Council. On the other hand, we have the foolish Pope recanting his own justification of "The Three Chapters"—with four successors following in his last steps, and then the Eastern Bishops, with the Emperor—now civil head, and something more, of Rome and Italy—on the same side. And Gregory, we see, has cast in his lot with this mighty second party, and his business now is to bring round to the same mind the still recusant Western Bishops. Except he succeed in that, his cause, as he has

just taken it up, is lost ; and with it the rule of Rome is gone. And so indeed, as we have seen, it had come very much to be, since the stupendous baseness of Vigilius had shaken it to its foundation. What, then, will Gregory do ? What he himself would have done, if in the place of Vigilius ; what he still would do, but for this terrible dilemma into which he has got betwixt Vigilius and Vigilius, betwixt the East with its Emperor, and the West with its Bishops—this can admit of no question. Without a doubt, he would stand by Chalcedon. But the case, as it now stands, is of quite another sort ; it is one for anxious and subtle *management*. It would have been too much for a Leo ; but Gregory, with more attractions by far, is equal to the emergency. So, with the Emperor's aid, he has the Western Bishops summoned to Rome, to convince them, if possible, that *his* course is the right one, or to persuade them, at any rate, to follow it. They have doubted, as he well knows, his loyalty to the Fourth Council, and consequently, his very orthodoxy. Let them dismiss all such thoughts—

Gregory "receives the first four Councils, as the four books of the holy gospel, yet reverences the *fifth*, and condemns "The Three Chapters." Yes, on those four Councils rests, as on a square stone, the structure of the holy faith ; and they are the rule of every man's actions and life. Who-soever therefore does not hold by this foundation is out of the building."—BOWER, vol. ii. p. 470.

Precisely so. But here was the difficulty—to receive the Fourth, and, at the same time, the Fifth. For the Westerns clearly saw, and we can see with them, that the two were far from being equal to the same thing—namely, the theology of "The Three Chapters," as justified by the one, and condemned by the other. Yes, but there never is any

difficulty in making it out that two things of this class may yet be equal to one another. The only difficulty is in finding believers for the conclusion; and even that need never be despaired of; it only wants blind eyes and a submissive mind, and the thing is done. Of this, at least, we may be sure, that whatever in this line could be done, at the end of the sixth century, Gregory was the man to do it. For a time, indeed, the Westerns did stumble. As *men* they felt the difficulty arising from the axiom about the unequals; as *Churchmen* they got out of the difficulty. Would the Pope, they asked, assume their responsibility before God, in regard to the belief that he was urging upon them? Gregory heroically answered that he would; and so the man was overborne, but the Churchman was satisfied. And thus by this, or other means of which he was equally master—assisted by the great healer Time, and still more by the warm sunshine of Imperial favour—the great snow mountain of the “Three Chapter” Schism melted away, and left a united West for Gregory to work upon. At last there remained in opposition, for some time, only a dissatisfied band in far off Ireland, and, as for neighbours, the solitary archbishop of Aquileia.*

* We take the above from Maimbourg (*Hist. Pont. Gregory I.*, tome i. p. 53)—“Ils lui dirent que pour mettre en repos leur conscience ils lui demandèrent seulement qu’il répondît pour eux, et fût leur garant devant Dieu, en prenant sur soy le péril qu’il pouvait avoir à faire ce qu’il exigeait d’eux; ce qu’il n’avait pas plutôt promis et accepté sans hésiter, qu’ils rentrèrent dans la communion de l’Eglise Romaine.” In Waddington, p. 150, we read—“One of these schismatics, named Stephanus, came to Rome, and offered to Gregory to return to the Church, if the Pope would take upon himself the risk of his soul, and intercede with God, as his sponsor and *fide-jussor*, that his return to the Catholic Church should be sanctioned in heaven—*quod Gregorius minime facere cunctatus est.*” He quotes from Baronius, *Annal.* A.D. 590.

CHAPTER X.

FOURTH TRUMPET—CONTINUED.

POPE GREGORY I.

SUCH, then, was Gregory. None could have more thoroughly understood, or more resolutely laboured to carry out, the great work prepared for him by his predecessors; and, towards the accomplishment of this, his conspicuous self-denial and liberality could not fail greatly to contribute. That he was very consistent in all his principles, or the application of them, no one can intelligently maintain; for he certainly had a remarkable power, as occasion served, of saying and unsaying the same thing.* But in

* Thus, in regard to persecution for belief. When two ecclesiastics had been severely beaten, under the authority of the Patriarch, John of Constantinople, Gregory writes to him, "Your fraternity knows what is said in the Canons about Bishops, who cause themselves to be feared with blows; we are pastors, and not executioners. You cannot be a stranger to what an excellent preacher said, 'Preach the word,' &c. (2 Tim. iv. 2.) But to recur to blows, and with blows require men to believe, is a new and unheard-of kind of preaching." So as regards Jews, he writes, in opposition to certain Bishops in Gaul who had been using force—"Conversions owing to force are never sincere; and such as are thus converted scarce ever fail to return to their vomit, when the force is removed that wrought their conversion." No, Gregory will use no force with Jews; on the contrary he *will remit one third of the taxes due to the Roman Church by those of them in Sicily, if they will become Christians.* Now all this suited Gregory. It suited him to meddle with his "beloved, brother" John; and it suited him to be just, and even kind to Jews. But it equally suited him to regain the lost Roman influence in Africa—which

one respect he never varied, never wavered—and that was his undying concern for the interest of St. Peter's See. This, according to his own account, must be regarded as his ruling passion. And yet he was no unbending bigot, like some of his predecessors. He knew better than Leo when a stone wall was too hard for him. He was, in fact, with all his ardour, a cool calculating general in chief, a consummate diplomatic manager, who knew well the value of yielding, if he hoped to rule.* The following as one of

end might be served by the persecution of the unhappy Donatists. Hence he writes to the Governor, extolling him for his warlike deeds, exhorting him to fight the battles of the Church as zealously, and "to bring under the yoke of righteousness the proud necks of the rebellious heretics, who, if they could, would extinguish the very name of the Catholic faith." (See BOWER, vol. ii. pp. 474-5, 493-4.)

* Thus, in an episcopal vacancy at Salona, Maximus, a man of scandalous life, obtains, by simony, as was believed, the appointment. Gregory declares this null, and summons the offender to Rome, who tore down the summons, and got an order from the Emperor Maurice, forbidding the Pope to interfere. Gregory remonstrates, but most respectfully, as always—saying that, "if it cost him his life, it should never be said that the See of St. Peter had suffered any loss of authority, through his neglect." All proving ineffectual, Gregory lets the matter drop—until Maximus, charged with new crimes, is again summoned to Rome. He still refuses, upon which Gregory thunders out an excommunication against him, and his abettors, and again appeals to the Emperor. Maurice then sent orders to the Exarch at Ravenna to take up the case. The Exarch called Maximus to appear before the Bishop of Ravenna. Maximus then goes through what *we* (not necessarily *he*) should count a very humiliating penance—spending three hours in prostrations and vociferations (*Peccavi Deo, et beatissimo Papae Gregorio*—which last was certainly quite true, for he had slandered him badly); after which he purges himself by oath from the charge of simony, and is then acknowledged as a good and true man, and Bishop of Salona, by Gregory, who sends the *Pallium* for his consecration. Thus did Maximus "act;" nor does it clearly come out that any of the other parties to the transaction did otherwise. (See BOWER, vol. ii. p. 489, to which we have added some particulars from a piece found in Gregory's works.)

the most important incidents of his life will show us something of the man.

It was the year 595, the Emperor in Constantinople being Maurice, and the Patriarch, John the Faster—a man of extraordinary piety, according to the notion of the age, and especially eminent in the practice from which he derived his designation. But his fasting seems rather to have inflamed, than cooled, his ambition; and so he contended earnestly for the honour of styling himself “Universal Bishop,” a title already given to some of his predecessors. This direct attempt to *fix* the title to *his* See called forth in the mind of Gregory an amazing amount of irritation. The title was “vain, ambitious, profane, impious, execrable, blasphemous, infernal, diabolical.” “He who claimed it was the Anti-Christ, or his forerunner.” “He was no better than Lucifer in Isaiah.” Yea, so horrible was this expression to the vicar of St. Peter that the very consenting to it on his part would be the most serious sacrifice of principle.* For, says he,

* It seems strange—if anything in this line really can be so—that Gregory should make such objections to the title *Oecumenical*. It had been given, as far as we can understand, to the great Leo by the Council of Chalcedon. Maimbourg, at least, gives the words to that effect, which we quote *precisely* as we find them—“Concile de Chalcedoine, art. 3—*τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ καὶ μακαριωτάτῳ οἰκουμένικῳ πατριάρχῃ τῆς μεγάλῃς Ῥώμης Λεωντῇ.*” And, independently of all titles, the Popes certainly, long before Gregory’s time, had begun to act as if they were *oecumenical*; and Gregory himself, before his great controversy, had not only rebuked the Patriarch John for the flogging of the two Presbyters, but had received their appeal, and reversed the sentence. (BOWER, vol. ii. p. 494.) “S. Gregoire (*says* Maimbourg) en cassant le sentence de Jean le Jeuneur contre le prêtre de Chalcedoine, fait plus éclater sa primauté et ce pouvoir général, qu’aucun Pape n’a jamais fait.” If, in short, Peter was to the Church, and the Pope to Peter, what Gregory imagined, then all the rest followed; and we can just as soon doubt what two and two make, as we can doubt what was Gregory’s view of his own overshadowing pre-eminence.

"It is very hard that, after parting with our silver, our gold, our slaves, our garments, for the public good, we should be obliged to part with our faith too."—*GRAC. Epist. 39, Lib. 4.*

To the Empress he appeals in a very peculiar style—

"Though Gregory is guilty of many great sins, for which he thus deserves to be punished, Peter himself is guilty of no sins, nor ought he to suffer for mine. I therefore, over and over again, beg, intreat, and conjure you, by the Almighty, not to forsake the virtuous steps of your ancestors, but, treading in them, to court and secure to yourself the protection and favour of that Apostle, who is not to be robbed of the honour that is due to his merit, for the sins of one who has no merit, and who so unworthily serves him."—*Epist. 34, Lib. 4.*

The Empress, however, would not interfere; the Emperor counselled peace and love; and John held to his title. Meanwhile, Gregory—instead of proclaiming a crusade against the Patriarch, living or dead, as some would have done, or inaugurating a new schism between East and West—allowed the controversy to drop, and contented himself, for the present, with inventing or adopting a title which would prove how meek and humble he was, as compared with the Lucifer John—and which, till this day, his successors delight in, *Servus servorum Dei*. And, at the same time, he continued his own stupendous labours—ruling the churches in his diocese, alike in regard to the greatest and the smallest matters—arranging the entire order of religious services, with its chants,* masses,

* The following is an exact translation of what we find in the works of Gregory, but without having the means of verifying its genuineness. It is dated—18th year of Maurice, 5th July. Whoever the author, he did not see the incongruity that an apostle saw between "blessing God, and cursing man, with the same mouth."—"Gregory, Pope, before the most holy body of the blessed Peter (in presence of all the Bishops and Presbyters of the Roman Church, &c. &c.), said—I by the present *decretum*

and whatever could contribute to its gorgeousness, or impressiveness; while he laboured hard at two objects which were specially dear to his heart—the celibacy of the clergy, and the right ordering of monasteries.* At the same time he held several councils at Rome—carried on arrangements with bishops in Spain, Gaul, Africa—negotiated with the Lombards†—relieved thousands who, by the ravages of that enemy, had lost their all; thus taking on himself the care of the State, as much as of the Church; nor shrinking, in the midst of all this, from entering upon fresh dealings on the old subject, with a new Patriarch in Constantinople;‡ although confined to

appoint that, in this See, the ministers of the sacred altar shall not chant; but only, between the solemnities of the masses, discharge the office of the evangelic reading. The reading of the Psalms and other lessons I assign to the sub-deacons; or, if necessity require, to the minor orders. If any one shall presume to go against this my *decretum*, *Anathema sit*. And they all answered, *Anathema sit*."

* The following is of much importance in connection with Gregory's action as regards monasteries.—"Gregory, having been a monk before he became Pontiff, was naturally led to the measure which more particularly rendered him the founder of the Papal monarchy, *that of exempting the monastic bodies* from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and subjecting them immediately to the See of Rome." (*Hist. des Papes*, tome i. p. 383, in MILLER's *Phil. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 63.)

† "The Lombards having taken possession, and Italy being divided into many parts, the Pope had an opportunity of greater exertion. Being as it were the head of Rome, both the Emperor of Constantinople and the Lombards respected him; so that the Romans by his means entered into league with the Lombards and with Longinus not as subjects, but as equals. Thus the Popes, at one time making friends of the Greeks, and at another of the Lombards, increased their own power."—MACHIAVELLI, *Hist. Florence*, Book I. ch. 8.

‡ What led to this new transaction was a very characteristic act on the part of Gregory. For, on hearing of the appointment, and being well acquainted with the new Patriarch, he wrote at once congratulating him on his elevation, accepting of his confession of faith, and receiving him

his bed for a large part of his time, and suffering the most excruciating agonies. During the same period was despatched to England the famous mission, in the course of which Gregory struck out a path altogether new in the history of the Church. For, whereas it had been the unbroken custom to require the heathen, when converted, to give up their idolatrous festivals, Gregory decided that, instead of abandoning, they should rather transfer them, from the old object of worship to the saint whose name stood on the calendar for the day, thus continuing, in honour of him and his God, to feast upon the original heathenish sacrifices.

At last, after some six years from the date of this famous controversy with John, there took place a tragedy, at which the world stood, and still stands, aghast; but which drew from Gregory nothing but expressions of rapturous thankfulness. We refer to the story of Maurice and Phocas.

Let us premise, then, that Maurice was a man with many good qualities, and one great vice, *avarice*—the parent, as we may well believe, of many evils and troubles. That this led him to wink at various gross misdeeds of his officers in Italy, from the Exarch downward, was only too natural. Gregory, however, first as Nuncio to the Imperial Court, afterwards as Pope, always maintained, even amid many disagreements, the most friendly relations with the

into his Communion, without noticing the obnoxious title;—and, at the same time, he ordered his nuncio at Constantinople “*not to communicate with the Patriarch, till he had renounced for ever the proud and impious title, which his predecessor had wickedly assumed.*” This naturally led the Patriarch to ask for an explanation.—BOWER, vol. ii. pp. 510–99.

Emperor. Thus, while seeking the repeal of an Imperial enactment against soldiers becoming monks, he says—

“My tongue cannot well express the benefits which I have received of the Almighty, and of my most serene Lord the Emperor; and in what other manner can I acknowledge them than by loving the very ground he treads?”—BOWER, vol. ii. p. 499.

It happened, then, in the year 601, that Maurice, having somehow given offence to the army, a mutiny arose, and Phocas, a bold centurion, became commander, and Emperor. What his recommendations were for such a position we are not told; but some one has said of him that he possessed nothing of humanity but the deformed exterior—his wife Leontia being represented as not much his superior. On the third day after his elevation, Phocas, having imprudently pronounced in favour of one of the factions in the hippodrome, was called to by the other party, “Remember that Maurice is still alive.” The warning was sufficient. Maurice was dragged from his asylum, and massacred with his six sons—five of them before his own eyes—the bodies being thrown into the sea, and the heads exposed at Constantinople. The next step was the butchery of the Empress Constantina, and her three daughters. And yet this was but the beginning of horrors.

“Eyes were pierced, tongues torn from the root, hands and feet cut off. Some expired under the lash, others in the flames, others were transfixed with arrows, and a simple speedy death was a mercy that could rarely be obtained. The hippodrome, the sacred asylum of the pleasures and liberty of the Romans, was polluted with heads, and limbs, and mangled bodies; and the companions of Phocas were the most sensible that neither *his* favour, nor *their* services, could protect them from a tyrant, the worthy rival of the Caligulas and Domitians of the first age of the Empire.”—GIBBON, vol. viii. p. 214.

Observe, then, the relation of Gregory to all this. After the first act in the appalling tragedy, the images of Phocas and Leontia were sent to Rome, where he received them with all respect and loyalty—first “lodging them in the oratory of St. Caesarius, then exposing them in the Lateran, to the veneration of the clergy and senate, and finally depositing them in the palace of the Caesars, between those of Constantine and Theodosius”—the most renowned, be it observed, of all the Imperial friends of the Church. But such acts, expressive as they were, were inadequate to express the deep feelings of Gregory. Hence he wrote—

“Glory to God in the Highest, who removes kings, and sets up kings—giving, in His justice, princes to afflict His people, and, in His mercy, to comfort and relieve them. We have been most grievously afflicted, but He has chosen you . . . to banish, by your merciful disposition, all our afflictions and sorrows. Let the heavens rejoice, let the earth leap for joy, let the whole people return thanks for so happy a change. . . . May the Republic long enjoy these most happy times! May God with His grace direct your heart in every good deed. *May the Holy Ghost that dwells in your breast* (inhabitor vestri pectoris) *ever guide and assist you, so that you may, after a long course of years, pass from an earthly to a heavenly kingdom.*”—Lib. xiii., Ep. 31.

Phocas, meanwhile, had written to Gregory, complaining that he found no Nuncio from him at the Palace. Gregory answers that

“none had dared, for some time, even to approach that palace—but now that they know that it has pleased God, in His goodness and mercy, to place you on the throne, they fear no more, but exult and rejoice, and, courting the office which they declined before, fly to your feet with inexpressible joy.”—Lib. xiii., Ep. 38.

And, as Phocas commenced, so he continued to reign—an unmitigated monster till the last—Men of the first

rank being daily executed publicly, or massacred privately. Some had their hands and feet cut off, or were set up as marks for the soldiers to shoot at; people of the lowest class being as rudely dealt with as the highest. It was enough that any one was heard to utter a word of truth in regard to the author of such enormities. But no such word, alas, ever came from the pen of Gregory; and during the sixteen months, or more, that he lived under Phocas, that monster, for aught that ever proceeded from the Pope, might have been the best of emperors and of men.—BOWER, vol. ii. p. 538; GIBBON, vol. viii. p. 213.

Nor was he content with thus lauding Phocas, but he must do the same to the equally unworthy Empress, Leontia; as that will not only deepen the impression, but will give an opportunity of more distinctly exhibiting his grand object in it all. Therefore, as with the Emperor he confines himself to reasons of *State*—with the Empress, on the other hand, he descants more of the *Church*. After the same gushing expressions of gratitude for the political relief, and invocation of all heaven and earth to give praise for it—

“Wherefore we must the more earnestly entreat, for the mercy of the Almighty, that, with his right hand, he may hold your heart, and so direct its thoughts, by the help of the heavenly grace, that your Tranquillity may be able so much the more to rule your subjects, as you shall more truly know how to serve the Ruler of all. May he make you to be the defenders of the Catholic faith, in the love of it—you whom He hath, by his gracious action, made to be our Emperors. May He pour into your minds at once zeal, and gentleness, that with fervour you may never leave unpunished what is committed against him, and may mercifully endure offences against yourselves. May He grant you, in your piety, the clemency of the Empress Pulcheria, who, because of her zeal for the Catholic faith, was called, in a holy Synod, a new Helen. May He, of

His mercy, greatly prolong to you, and our most pious lord, your terms of living, that so much the longer these may last, so much more effectual may be the consolation bestowed on all your subjects. I ought perhaps to have asked that your Tranquillity would take under your special protection the Church of the Blessed Apostle Peter, till now so grievously afflicted. But, as I know you love the Almighty God, I should not ask what, of the benignity of your own piety, you do of your own accord. For the more you fear the Maker of all, the more will you love the Church of him to whom it was said—'Thou art Peter,' &c. ; wherefore we cannot doubt with how strong love you bind yourself to him, through whom you so earnestly desire to be loosened from all sins. May he therefore be the guardian of your Empire—may he be your protector on earth—may he be your intercessor in heaven, that, because of your giving such joy now to your subjects, thus relieved from their grievous burdens, you may, after a long term of years, rejoice in the celestial kingdom."—*Greg.*, Lib. xiii. Ep. 39.

Nor were these the only notorious offenders that Gregory could thus flatter. For whatever doubt may rest on some of the charges brought against the Frankish Queen Brunechild, it is not to be questioned that she had earned too good a right to the title of Jezebel, as freely given to her by even Roman Catholic historians. She may not have been actually guilty of the death of ten kings, according to the accusation of her nephew Clotaire, and for which she was sentenced to a very Jezebel-like end;* but that she was anything but a very wicked woman cannot properly be doubted. And this is the woman to whom Gregory writes precisely as we have found him doing to Phocas and Leontia. The fact is that Brunechild was a *Catholic queen*,† and that was a virtue which elicited a charity broad enough to cover any number of sins.

* See *Rome*, by Canon Trevor, p. 105.

† It has been said that "those who asperse her memory lived at least a century after her, while her contemporaries Gregory I. and Gregory of

The following will show his style of flattery, and something besides :

"The goodness of your Excellency worthy to be published, and well-pleasing to God, the government of your kingdom witnesses, and the education of your son manifests." (This education, he maintains, was not for time only, but for eternity ; and, in consequence of it, his government excelled that of all the nations—both because of his pure worship of God, and his genuine confession of faith. Still he was in need of his mother's exhortations, that his faith might shine out more brightly in his actions.) "Now, since we have such ample reason for trusting in the Christianity of your Excellency, therefore, saluting you with paternal affection, we ask that, on account of the love of the Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, whom we know that you love with all your heart, we have sent unto you Candidus, &c. &c. May your Excellency, therefore, so freely grant him all assistance, according to this our request, that the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to whom by the Lord Jesus Christ has been granted the power of loosing and binding, may both grant your Excellency to rejoice in your offspring here, and, after a course of many years, may cause you, delivered from all evils, to stand before the face of the Eternal Judge."—Lib. vi. Ep. 5.

In the letter next given, we find Gregory, with like expressions of praise, commending to the same care Augustine and his monks on their way to England.

"The Christianity of your Excellency has been so certainly known to us for long, that of its goodness we can entertain no doubt, but rather hold it in every way certain, since, in the cause of the faith, it devoutly and earnestly concurs with us, and most copiously administers the solaces of its religious sincerity. . . . May, therefore, your Excellency,

Tours speak highly of her." On this we remark that the latter was not her contemporary during the period of her worst crimes, he having been obliged to retire to Rome, and dying there after some years about 595. Besides which there was strong temptation for him to commend her, as the rival of the party through which he had suffered. Let us remember also the "moral barbarousness" of this Gregory in the case of Clovis, and the worse than that of the other in the case of Phocas, and we shall not be disposed to attach much weight to their praises of this eminently Catholic queen.

accustomed as you are to readiness in all good works, both on account of our petition, as well as in consideration of the Divine fear, deign to have him commended to you in all things, and earnestly bestow upon him the grace of your protection . . . and may our God, who in this world has adorned (*decoravit*) you with the excellencies (*bonis*) well pleasing to Himself, both here, and in the eternal rest, make you to rejoice with His saints."—Lib. vi. Ep. 59. *

* We conclude this account with the following quotation, which we give with some reluctance, because of its severity, but with a good conscience, because convinced of its truth: "His humility sometimes descended to baseness. The abject adulation with which he courted Phocas, the usurper of the Eastern throne, the most execrable parricide in history, proves (as Bayle has malignantly [?] remarked) that those who prevailed with him to accept the Popedom knew him better than he knew himself. 'Ils voyoient en lui le fonds de toutes les ruses et de toutes les souplesses dont on a besoin pour se faire de grands protecteurs, et pour attirer sur l'Eglise les bénédictions de la terre.' The motive of his flattery was jealousy of the Patriarch of Constantinople. He addressed, with the same servility, Brunehaud, a very wicked Queen of France, and again found his excuse in the interests of his Church."—WADDINGTON, *Church History*, p. 156.

CHAPTER XI.

FOURTH TRUMPET—CONTINUED.

GREGORY'S FLATTERY AND PETER-WORSHIP.

THUS did Gregory revel in flattering the grossest sinners. And yet no man understood better than he, in point of principle, the sinfulness of such a practice.

"To flatter sinners"—writes this extraordinary man—"how noxious ; because he who should judge well of evil men would be withdrawing from innocence, as Solomon says, 'He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, are both an abomination before God.' For there are some who, while they bestow praises on the evil deeds of men, increase what they ought to chide. For thus says the prophet, 'Woe to them who sew pillows under all armholes.' (Ezek. xiii. 18.) For this is the purpose of pillows, that one may sleep more softly. Whosoever, therefore, flatters evildoers puts a pillow under their head, that he who ought to be snatched away from his sin may, even supported by praise, rest in it more softly."—*GREG. MORAL. LIB. xviii. on Job, ch. 27.*

Then discoursing of building a wall and smearing it—"Now they smear the wall who flatter those that commit sins, as if by flattery they would make, as it were, to shine what the others by perverse actions, build." "But," continues he, "as the holy man does not judge evil of the good, so does he refuse to judge good of the evil, saying, 'Far be it from me to hold you righteous ; till I die, I will not depart from mine integrity ; my righteousness which I have begun to hold will I not give up.' But this righteousness he would be guilty of giving up, were he to go aside into the praise of sinners."—*Ibid. on Job, ch. 29.*

Thus accurately did the highly-gifted man know his Lord's will. And, as we cannot imagine the shamelessness

of his so writing after his unparalleled disregard of the principles so well discoursed on, we must suppose that the transgression came after the discoursing. Taken any way, does it not seem as if it had been providentially designed that Gregory should thus pronounce sentence upon himself as "giving up *his* righteousness"?*

Such was the action of Gregory the Great—one of the most pious of men, we are informed—not only great but good—"the only Pope that we can really love—a man of truly human feelings, kind, generous, tolerant, with whom we feel a sympathy impossible in the case of the others."—CANON ROBERTSON, *Growth of Papal Power*, p. 115.†

Thus does man judge; but what if God has judged otherwise? And if the appeal be to His court, it seems as if the case were a very simple one indeed. For what

* The Book on Morals was begun, at least, when Gregory was Nuncio in Constantinople. As to his style of interpreting Scripture, this work is a specimen; for out of the Book of Job, allegorically treated, he brings "the whole theory of the Romish Church and its Sacraments with an unrelenting condemnation of all Sectarrians." Dean Milman says that such a "departure from the plain teaching of the Holy Spirit is no less than to make a *new revelation* to mankind;" for, according to Gregory's license of interpretation, "there is nothing which might not be found in any book that ever was written."—See Dr. DAWSON MASSON'S *Secret History of Romanism*, p. 41.

† Such is a very common way of speaking of this Pope—so complete has been his fascination, not of his contemporaries only, but of posterity likewise. Even Bower, who, as an honest convert from Popery, is little inclined to esteem Popes, is warm in his praises of this one; although, to do him justice, he speaks plainly of the present case. "What was afterwards called the Papal System (says Janus, p. 88), when first proclaimed in words only, was repudiated with horror by that greatest and best of Popes, Gregory I." (referring to his correspondence with John). Are we, then, bound to believe all that a man—even Gregory—*says*, whatever be his *actions*!

construction can be put on the texts discoursed on by Gregory, but just the one that he himself puts on them? What new light is possible on the necessary connection between "justifying the wicked" and "being an abomination to the Lord"? Or was there ever a clearer calling down by a man of a *woe* on himself, for the "sewing of pillows," than when Gregory lent himself with his boundless influence, to lull those atrocious criminals to sleep? It might be counted unfair to say that he "called evil good." For that is not exactly what he did. He simply ignored the evil that was piled up to heaven, embraced the evil-doer, and called *him* good. And, considering how renowned as a church-service organizer was this much-belauded Pope, one wonders with what sense of honesty or decency—to say nothing of devotion—he could chant, or discourse upon, such words of righteousness as were continually crossing his path from the Book of Psalms;—as, for example, about "hating the congregation of evildoers"—"hating the work of them that turn aside"—or the "contemning of a vile person" by him "who is to abide in the tabernacle of God." But enough; Gregory knew it all; and none would have been more ready than he to denounce such behaviour, except as displayed on behalf of that cause which was to him above all causes.

Suppose now we go to other ground, and remind Gregory's advocates of the word, "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness," &c.—the answer, we fear, will be, "But that is only a *precept*, and, in obedience, we all come short." Or if we urge, "The friendship of the world is enmity with God"—they may say, "That

is only a *principle*, and we are apt to forget principles." So we take our stand on the *decision*, "*Whosoever*, therefore, will be the friend of the world is the enemy of God." There, at least, we have a *person* and a *sentence*. Now, surely, if ever man courted the world's friendship, it was this same Gregory, when, with the fond design of advancing the Papacy, he dared to profane the name of God's Holy Spirit, by representing Him as inhabiting the bosom, and directing the life of a murderer as atrocious as ever outraged humanity. But, whatever else the ruling principle in this matter, it was at least Roman—Roman last, first, everything. The only peculiarity is that, instead of being, as once, the Rome of Jove, it is now the Rome of Peter. And this, we imagine, will, after all, be the defence—Gregory sincerely believed that St. Peter's *primacy* was the panacea for the world, and so, as a grand means of promoting that most desirable of ends, he assumed an appearance of friendship for Phocas which no good man could possibly feel. That is to say, he acted the hypocrite on the most stupendous scale—and, though not really approving the works, gave thanks to God for His exceeding mercy in raising up this monster to do them;—thus, at the same time, notoriously assuming before the eyes of all the place of one who is "the world's friend," and "God's enemy."

The following will give another example of the place assigned to Peter in the Gregorian system.

Gregory to Secundinus (Lib. ix. indict. ii. ep. 52). "The images which you have asked for, through Dulcidus, we

have sent ; by which you may know that your request has greatly pleased us—inasmuch as you seek with your whole heart and strength (*toto corde, tota intentione*) him whose image you desire to have before your eyes.” [He then declares that images are not for worship, but for reminding and animating. And truly there was little left of worship for the image, after it had been so liberally given to the saint.] “We send also one cross, a key for benediction from the most holy body of Peter, Prince of the Apostles—that you may continue defended from the evil one through him, by the memorial (*signo*) of whom you believe yourself to be fortified, and may he protect thee from him who always suggests the remembrance of youthful practices ; that in all thy good acts thou mayst persevere ; that, even to the end, thou mayst remain in the love of him for whose love thou desirest to abide solitary ; that thou mayst kindle others to the love of him for whom thou hast made thyself to be thus held ; that whatever bygone evils of this life the enemy suggests, thou mayst by soul-benefits as by torches be warmed up (on account of him) for whose love thou desirest even to finish life. [So much for Peter ; now for another.] May *He* also protect thee even to the end, who has deigned to redeem the whole world—Jesus Christ our Lord who liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen.”

The following sentence will show the relation which he personally, or officially, claimed with Peter.

Commending one of his missionaries to Brunechild, he thus concludes,—“And may the Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, whom, with Christian devotion, you venerate

in us, recompense your Excellency, by granting what we ask." (Lib. ix. indict. ii.) Peter, in short, seems, in such correspondence, to (Epist. 117) do everything but die for our sins. For, that preliminary being arranged already, *he* is now the governor of Churches and of souls; *he* is the one who, though unseen, is to be loved; and not that only, but fully trusted too, considering the plenitude of power that has been committed to him.

Thus we have come to know something of these two illustrious builders in the Petro-Papal edifice, the two Popes known as *great*, Leo and Gregory. Where they seem to approximate most nearly is perhaps in their dealings with the barbarian enemy—Leo with Attila and Genseric, Gregory with the Lombards—each in his turn doing all that was possible; though, as regards actual achievement, we should be inclined to give the palm to Gregory. But the difference in the methods embraced by the two men—their object being one—is more striking than the agreement. Of Leo, bold, hard, arrogant, we had sufficient specimens in his action as regards Hilary, Valentinian, and the Fourth Council. In Gregory we have found a man of another type, and harder to characterize, but, above all, mighty in ‘management.’ We have seen him in his dealings as regards the *Fifth* Council, Maximus, the Anglo-Saxon proselytes, the Patriarch John, and, above all, the tragedy which his admirers pass over so lightly—allowing it, of course, to be a stain, and perhaps styling it indelible, but of which the owner need reckon little so long as his virtues are a great deep in which this “indelible

stain," and a few other faults, are drowned. But now, if we compare the two men in regard to the points that most naturally suggest themselves, it is easy to say, for example, which of the two was the more marked by a kindly and yielding spirit. And so as to *humility*, Leo, we imagine, would not court the palm, nor even quarrel with a certain imputation of haughtiness. And let us frankly confess that we prefer the haughtiness of Leo to the humility of Gregory. For that, if we mistake not, was a quality which would for ever have secured him from the infinite baseness of the Phocas flattery—a sin for which to seek the right name is no part of ours, and which we fondly hope has no second of its class, within the Christian pale.*

* It seems harsh to speak thus of one to whom our Church services owe so much till this day. But the chief question is—Is it true? And if so, as we fully believe, the lesson is important. We subjoin a sentence from a writer, liberal and well informed, and whose views of the Philosophy of History lead him to put the most favourable construction upon all such cases.—“Dragged from the cloister by the unanimous wish of the clergy, senate, and people, this Pontiff displayed, with unwearied assiduity, on the Papal throne, that mixture of real piety and superstition, of genius and rudeness, of pride and humility, which was fitted to seize every avenue of the human heart.”—MILLER's *Philosophy of History*, vol. i. p. 62.

CHAPTER XII.

FOURTH TRUMPET—CONTINUED.

FROM THE DEATH OF GREGORY (604) TO THAT OF
CHARLEMAGNE (814).

DURING this period two important principles made great advance—one of these being “*the unity of the Church*,” and the other, that “the one Body could have only one Head;” “the general footing which this acquired, throughout the West, contributing in no small degree to prepare and smooth the way to Papal despotism.”—WADDINGTON, *Ch. Hist.*, p. 159.

Another feature of the period was the decay of Provincial Councils; and

“This gradual disuse of one of the most ancient and legitimate methods of governing the Church, was a proof of its growing corruption, and a fearful omen for its future prosperity.” The matter is of extreme importance, and can easily be explained. The conduct of such Councils had been in the hands of the Metropolitan Bishops. But now the ambition of the Popes, on the one hand, and the corruption of the ordinary bishops on the other, inducing them to prefer a more distant court of appeal, conspired in gaining for Rome the ancient authority of the Provincial Metropolitans. Hence their fall, and that of the Councils with them.”—*Ibid.* p. 160.

As for the *events* of the period, the first that need be mentioned is the conferring—by the infamous Phocas, within three years of Gregory’s death—of the “diabolical”

title of "Ecumenical," upon Pope Boniface,* an event familiar to many as the starting-point (606, or rather 607) for their grand period of 1260 years of Papal domination.†

One other event of the seventh century had consequences of great moment for the Roman dominion. The Eastern Emperors being hard pressed for the defence of their own dominions against the Saracens,

"found it necessary to concentrate their strength for that purpose, and to make over to the Bishops of Rome, as the chief personages in Italy, the task of guarding that country against the Lombards. The Popes were now masters of some fortresses; from time to time they repaired the walls of Rome; and the Italians came by degrees to regard the great, powerful, and active bishops as their chiefs, rather than the distant princes who held a nominal sovereignty over them, but were unable to provide for them those benefits of protection and government which subjects expect at the hands of their rulers."—ROBERTSON'S *Growth of the Papal Power*, p. 129.

It seems, after all, that the seventh century‡ was, upon the whole, a quiet one for the West; though that quiet, as

* Boniface, we are told, himself solicited the title, and Phocas bestowed it, as being irritated with the Greek Patriarch, "*because he had condemned the design of putting to death the widow and daughters of the unfortunate Maurice.*" (See MILLER, *Phil. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 63.)

† "From the time that the Bishop of Rome had gotten to be acknowledged for Bishop Universal, by pretence of succession to St. Peter, their whole hierarchy, or kingdome of darkness, may be compared not unfitly to the kingdome of fairies; that is, to the old wives' fables in England, concerning ghosts and spirits, and the feats they play in the night; and if a man consider the originall of this great ecclesiastical dominion, he will easily perceive, that the Papacy is no other than the ghost of the deceased Roman empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof; for so did the Papacy start up on a sudden out of the ruins of that heathen power."—HOBBES, *Leviathan*.

‡ We read of the Pope (Adeodatus) who died in 677, "*qu'il est le premier Pape, qui ait daté des années de son Pontificat.*"—*Art de vérifier les dates*.

we can see, was not unfavourable to the growth of Rome. Of the following century quietness cannot be affirmed. For then there reigned in the East those iconoclast Emperors, Leo and Constantine; and to confront them in the West appeared the second Gregory. After breaking the idols in Constantinople, the next step was to do the same in Rome. The Romans retaliated, broke the images of the Emperor, and rebelled against his government. War was thus kindled, when the Italians generally took part with the Romans, "swearing to live and die in defence of the Pope and the holy images;" while the Exarch became a "captive rather than a master" in Ravenna, and the authority of the Emperor a shadow. He who was the leader, or at least the soul, of this warfare could write thus to the Emperor: "*The eyes of the nations are fixed on our humility; and they revere, as a god upon earth, the Apostle St. Peter, whose image you threaten to destroy.*" (GIBBON, vol. ix. p. 136.) Such arrogance might seem to betoken only weakness, and to ensure only defeat. But the arrogance well suited the ignorance of the times; and, instead of defeat, the insolent pretender became, says Gibbon, "the founder of the Papal Monarchy." (*Ib.* p. 134.) Thus, after

"the loss of her legions and provinces, the genius and fortune of the Popes again restored the supremacy of Rome; and so "the liberty of Rome, which had been oppressed by the arms and arts of Augustus, was rescued, after seven hundred and fifty years of servitude, from the persecution of Leo the Isaurian."—*Ib.* pp. 131, 142.

How low Rome had fallen at this epoch is well worthy of our regard, if we would appreciate the marvel of that

dominion which was soon to assert itself, and to astonish the world.

"The last vestige of the substance, or even the forms, of the constitution was obliterated from the practice and memory of the Romans ; and they were devoid of knowledge, or virtue, again to build the fabric of a commonwealth. Their scanty remnant, the offspring of slaves and strangers, was despicable in the eyes of the victorious barbarians. As often as the Franks or Lombards expressed their most bitter contempt of a foe, they called him a Roman ; and in this name, says the Bishop Liutprand, 'we include whatever is base, whatever is cowardly, whatever is perfidious, the extremes of avarice and luxury, and every vice that can prostitute the dignity of human nature.'—*Ib.* p. 143.

We may well, then, marvel, as we pass, at the all-ruling Providence which arranged such a dominion out of such a decay. Nor let us overlook the striking fact that the new, in all its grandeur, is but the result of the continued shining of that Roman sun, which, from the first, had been only eclipsed. Rome had never wanted a real chief on whom to lean ; and now of that chief we read,

"His alms, his sermons, his correspondence with the kings and prelates of the West, *his* recent services, *their* gratitude and oath, accustomed the Romans to consider him as the first magistrate, or prince, of the city. The Christian humility of the Popes was not offended by the name of Dominus or Lord ; and their face and inscription are still apparent on the most ancient coins. Their temporal dominion is now confirmed by the reverence of a thousand years ; and their noblest title is the free choice of a people whom they had redeemed from slavery."—*Ib.* p. 144.

Thus was fought, and won, the great battle of the century for Rome and the images. But if one hindrance to Roman dominion was thus removed, there was another ready to step into its place. The Lombard king now sought the influence that had just passed away from the Emperor. For a time the Pope had to combat with the

4

enemy, with whatever Italian aid he could command. But the conflict was proving too unequal, and he must call in a helper from beyond the Alps. Momentous both for Rome and France was this alliance, which "eventually exercised, indeed, the most active influence on the destinies of the world." (RANKE, *History of Popes*, vol. i. p. 13.) Already had Pope Zachary sanctioned the deposition of the worn-out Merovingian dynasty, and the transformation of the brave Pepin, Mayor of the palace, into king of France. The French nation was well satisfied with the arrangement, and no one was disposed to question the right of a Pope so to dispose of royalty. Thus

"under the sacerdotal monarchy of St. Peter, the nations began to resume the practice of seeking, on the banks of the Tiber, their kings, their laws, and the oracles of their fate."—GIBBON, p. 151.

Nor was Pepin ungrateful, on his part, for such an extraordinary service, but "undertakes to defend the Holy Church, and the Republic of God, against the Lombards" (RANKE, *ut supra*); and, in company with the Pope, crosses the Alps, humbles the enemy, and imposes on him peace with Rome. The Lombard king, however, soon forgets his engagement, and Pepin is again implored for succour. But this time it is not Pope Stephen who goes for him; it is Peter himself who writes the letter of application "to his adopted son, the king of the Franks—a fabrication, which, for strangeness and audacity, has never been exceeded." (JANUS, p. 135.) It is true, indeed, the apostle allows, that, as to the flesh, he is dead, but he is alive in the spirit; and it is he whom the clergy and nobles of France are now hearing, and whom they must

obey as the founder and guardian of the Roman Church. Let them thus obey, and "riches, victory, and paradise," are theirs; but, if they refuse, eternal damnation is their lot. (GIBBON, p. 149.) Is it unjust, after this, to speak of the Roman war-cry as extremely like an echo of the Arabian? Need we add that Pepin obeyed the call, and once more the Pope was saved.

But this was only a part of the eager gratitude of the Frank. The Roman priest had made Pepin king; so as soon as he has wrested the Exarchate from the Lombards, the king bestows it upon the priest. And thus the Pope is transformed from being owner of some farms and houses into sovereign of the territories of Ravenna, Bologna, Ferrara, and Pentapolis—this last stretching along the Adriatic from Rimini to Ancona, as far inland as the Apennines—to all which was afterwards added the duchy of Spoleto. One peculiar means employed by the Pope to obtain such possessions will be pointed out below.

"When called upon to restore those territories to their rightful owner, the Eastern Emperor, Pepin's reply was, 'That for no favour of man had he entered the strife, but from veneration to St. Peter alone, and in the hope of obtaining forgiveness for his sins.' He caused the keys of the conquered towns to be placed on the altar of St. Peter, and in this act he laid the foundation of the whole temporal power of the popes."—RANKE, vol. i. p. 14.

In another twenty years, Pepin's still more distinguished son follows his father's steps, and, in conjunction with another Pope, deals the last blow to this troublesome Lombard power.

"Their expiring monarchy was pressed by the zeal and prudence of Pope Adrian the first, the genius, the fortune, and greatness of Charlemagne, the son of Pepin; these heroes of the church and state were

united in public and domestic friendship,* and while they trampled on the prostrate, they varnished their proceedings with the fairest colours of equity and moderation.”—GIBBON, vol. ix. p. 150.

This great work accomplished, Charlemagne visited Rome, and

“Dismounting from his horse, led the procession of his nobles to the Vatican ; and, as he ascended the stairs, devoutly kissed each step of the threshold of the apostles. In the portico Adrian expected him at the head of his clergy ; they embraced as friends and equals, but, in their march to the altar, the king or patrician assumed the right hand of the Pope. Nor was the Frank content with these vain and empty demonstrations of respect. In the twenty-six years that elapsed, between the conquest of Lombardy and his Imperial coronation, Rome, which had been delivered by the sword, was subject, as his own, to the sceptre of Charlemagne. The people swore allegiance to his person and family ; in his name money was coined, and justice was administered, and the election of the Popes was examined and confirmed by his authority.”—GIBBON, vol. ix. p. 155.

The Lombard enemy being now finally disposed of, and the Greek government having become as pure and friendly in respect to the images as Rome could desire, it now became a question, “amid the violent raging of contending factions”—in consequence of which the Pope could no longer maintain himself without foreign aid in his own city—whether to invite that aid from the Eastern Emperor, or from Charlemagne. For various reasons the preference was given to the Frank. This decision was the act of Adrian,

“Who displayed in a narrow space the virtues of a great prince,” and who left “as the trophies of his fame such memorials as the walls of Rome, the sacred patrimony, the ruin of the Lombards, and the friendship of Charlemagne.”—*Ib.* p. 172.

* “The Frankish King and the Romish Pontiff were for the time the two most powerful forces that urged the movement of the world.”—BAYCE'S *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 42.

Meanwhile, Adrian having died, the important decision was left for consummation to his successor, Leo III., under whom Charlemagne made his fourth and last pilgrimage to Rome, and on Christmas, in the year 800, appeared in the church of St. Peter.

"Leo suddenly placed a precious crown on his head, and the dome resounded with the acclamations, 'Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific emperor of the Romans.' The head and body of Charlemagne were consecrated by the royal unction; after the example of the Cæsars, he was saluted or adored by the pontiff; his coronation oath represents a promise to maintain the faith and privileges of the church; and the firstfruits were paid in his rich offerings to the shrine of the apostle." (*Ib.* p. 174.) Thus was "restored the Western Empire* from which Europe dates a new era." "That Empire was not unworthy of its title; and some of the fairest kingdoms of Europe were the patrimony or conquest of a prince, who reigned, at the same time, in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Hungary." (*Ib.* p. 180.) "A Frank sovereign now filled the place of the Western emperors, and exercised all their prerogatives. In the dominions conferred on St. Peter, we see Charlemagne performing unequivocal acts of sovereign authority. His grandson, Lothaire, nominated his own judges in Rome, and annulled confiscations made by the Pope. The Pontiff, on the other hand, remaining head of the hierarchy in the Roman West, became nevertheless a member of the Frankish empire." (RANKE, *Hist. Popes*, vol. i. p. 15.) Thus, "in his utmost adversity, the power of the Pope struck new roots in a fresh soil; threatened by the most imminent ruin, it was at this moment that a firm and lengthened endurance was secured to it; the hierarchy taking its rise in the Roman Empire, now diffused itself over the German nations; these presented a boundless field for ever-extending activity, and here it was that the germ of its being was first fully developed."—*Ib.* p. 16.


* Though the event is commonly spoken of under this phrase, yet was it really designed as much more than that, even a *transference* to Charlemagne of the entire Roman Empire, East and West alike. The theory was that the reigning empress, Irene, was deposed on account of sex and crimes, and that Charlemagne had succeeded to her son Constantine whom she had deprived of sight.—See the subject discussed in Dr. BAYCE's *Holy Roman Empire*, chap. v.

Such is the history of this great event; and now comes the question how, in connection with our prophecy, we are to view such a restoration of the Western Empire? May it be regarded as itself constituting the termination of the eclipse, and restoration of the full sun, for which we have been led to seek? Or has it shown us, on the other hand, that we have been mistaken in looking for such a thing—inasmuch as an event, of a totally different character, has come in to occupy the stage, and preclude the result anticipated by us? Both of these questions we meet with a decided negative, which we justify thus:

In the historical statement now given, two things have distinctly appeared.

(1) A Roman dominion of a peculiar and mixed kind—chiefly spiritual but partly secular—a dominion deep, wide, spreading.

(2) A foreign supremacy over this—first Gothic, then Greek, but now, and of a more effective kind—Frankish or German. The tree of Roman rule has been steadily growing for 300 years, but it still needs one taller than itself for a shelter. The Roman Sun has been shining—but hitherto a foreign body has always come in to cut off a large portion of the light. And never as yet has Rome been able to put aside the obstacle. It is a question, indeed, but one of no practical value—whether she has even entertained the idea of exerting herself to get rid of this. It is of more consequence that we correctly appreciate the relation between Rome and Charlemagne—and that seems no difficult matter. In Charlemagne, then, we can see that there shone not a Roman Sun, but



a German—a sun that gained additional brilliancy indeed, from the Italian atmosphere of the old Imperial city—while yet it was not truly Roman. His government, in a word, was outside of Rome, and over it; not in it, or by it. And even while this stranger was the Pope's sovereign, it is not to be forgotten that he was, after all, really a Pope-made sovereign. Thus wonderfully did the Roman Sun shine even in that subject condition. Nothing, in fact, suited the Pope so well as to have the Frank for his Emperor. For thus he shut out the evil-minded Byzantine, and gained one who, instead of setting up as a rival, offered himself as an ally. And so the Frankish sovereignty was a greater gain to the Romans than the Roman subjection was to the Franks. For, while the Pope was thus slowly preparing for the day of his complete emancipation—the Frank, in the hour of his proudest triumph, was nearing that of a melancholy fall. No sooner was Charlemagne in the grave than the collapse of his empire began. Thus, whatever there was of a Western Emperor about Charlemagne, it was really nothing but what was just needed at the time for promoting the very eclipse of the genuine Roman Sun—and that, be it observed, in its positive, as well as its negative, aspect.

One peculiar ground on which Charlemagne has been held as succeeding to a true Roman Empire may here be mentioned. "Being descended from a Roman house, he (with certain others) did not found a new kingdom, but continued the Roman."* Now in what degree that descent

* So Hoffmann, *Weissagung und ih. Erfüllung*. He says, "Otho II. and Vladimir intermarried with daughters of the East Roman empire. This was characteristic for the relation of the immigrating nations to Rome; they did not found," &c.—See PUSEY, *On Daniel* ii.

is counted we do not ask. Suppose it had been by his very father, that would not make Charlemagne's rule other than it was.

Nay, if he had been himself a Roman, what would be the difference? A Roman is not Rome. Nor could the dominion of any emigrant Roman ruling over Germany, and from that stepping across the Alps to a sovereignty in Italy, ever amount to the *Western Roman Empire*, in that strict sense of the word which now alone concerns us. Charlemagne might assume what title he pleased, and our historians may both record and endorse the title. Still is it not the less clear that a *true* Western Roman Empire must mean an empire of Rome in the West—an empire with Rome *ruling* not *ruled*. And thus regarded, the Frank emperor was not a Roman Augustus. Suppose our Queen to admire and affect the title of *Great Mogul*, and to have it given out that the Mogul Empire had been restored under her—still would this be only a sentiment and expression—the real empire, after all, would be British, not Mogul. Nor would this fact be at all affected by some curious circumstance, such as that Victoria's ancestry had actually been traced up to a family in Delhi. Thus while we may speak for convenience sake, and with sufficient accuracy, of a revived Western Empire, we cannot so speak of the *Western Roman Empire* as restored in Charlemagne. For while this, on the one hand, is not the view of the Fourth Trumpet, the Trumpet view, on the other hand, of light partially obscured, and then fully restored, is exactly the expression of historic truth, as regards Roman dominion.*

* Suppose that Alexander had set up, as he once purposed, his own dominion in Babylon, no one would have regarded this as the restoration of the Persian kingdom. But that *kingdom* (though without the dominion)

was really restored when Sapor reigned.

We ask that the meaning of this word "partially" be carefully weighed. For so far only is room left for the *restoring of light* in an eclipse that is not total. Except for the measure of obscuration, the light *continues*. But in no sense have we in Charlemagne any *continuance* of Roman light. For this we must look, and we find it too—elsewhere. Thus, while history gives its own legitimate view of Western Roman *Empire restored*—in accordance at once with the *title* and the *assumption*—we can set up beside this the view as real and still deeper of Roman *dominion continued*—a Roman *sun* for a long time partially veiled, and then fully unveiled.

The following lines in this connection, from an admirable writer whose object leads him to do the utmost justice to the civil side of the subject, are well worthy of attention: "Charlemagne repeats the attempt of Theodoric to breathe a Roman spirit into Teutonic forms. The conception was magnificent; great results followed its partial execution. Two causes forbade success. The one was the ecclesiastical, especially the Papal power, *apparently subject to the temporal, but with a strong and undefined prerogative, which only waited the occasion to trample on what it had helped to raise.*"*

We add another sentence as exactly illustrating the subject of the Fourth Trumpet:

"In A.D. 476 Rome ceased to be the political capital of the Western countries, and the Papacy, inheriting no small part of the Emperor's power, drew to herself the reverence which the name of the city still commanded, until, by the middle of the eighth, or, at latest, of the ninth century, she had perfected in theory a scheme which made her *the exact counterpart of the departed despotism*, the centre of the hierarchy, absolute mistress of the Christian world." (Dr. BRUCE, *Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 70, 99.) Thus, whatever might be meant by "*restoration of Roman Empire*," we can see where lay the *continuation of Roman light*.

Two events of essential moment in the history of the new Roman dominion must not be forgotten here. We have seen how important in this view was the mission to England by Gregory. But this was followed by

* There is a sentence ascribed to Charlemagne and inserted among his capitularies, which is worth quoting here. That sentence became the current view in Europe up to the Council of Constance in the fifteenth century; namely, "*That it is a duty to endure the unendurable, if Rome imposes it.*"—JANUS, p. 144.

"results of still higher importance, when the Anglo-Saxons transplanted their modes of thought to the mainland, and embued the whole empire of the Franks with their own opinions. Boniface, the apostle of the Germans, was an Anglo-Saxon; this missionary, largely sharing in the veneration professed by his nation for St. Peter and his successors, had, from the beginning, voluntarily pledged himself to abide faithfully by all the regulations of the Roman see; to this promise he most religiously adhered. On all the German churches founded by him was imposed an extraordinary obligation to obedience.* Every bishop was required expressly to promise that his whole life should be passed in unlimited obedience to the Romish Church, to St. Peter, and to his representative. Nor did he confine this rule to the Germans only.† The Gallican bishops had hitherto maintained a certain independence of Rome; Boniface, who had more than once presided in their synods, availed himself of these occasions to impress his own views on this western portion of the Frankish church; thenceforward the Gallican archbishops received their pallium from Rome, and thus did the devoted submission of the Anglo-Saxons extend itself over the whole realm of the Franks."—RANKE, pp. 11, 12.

Let it be noted also that it was under the special protection of the Carolingians (Charles Martel and Pepin), as soon as they came upon the stage, that this work was accomplished. We shall see more clearly the importance

* See the oath of Boniface in Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 214.

† "The question was now settled whether the German church was to be incorporated into the system of the Roman hierarchy, or whether, from this time, there should go forth from it a reaction of free Christian development. The last would have taken place, if the more free-minded British and Irish missionaries who were scattered among the German populations had succeeded in gaining the preponderance. At Rome the danger which threatened from this quarter was well understood; and the formal oath prescribed to Boniface was, doubtless, expressly intended for the purpose of warding off this danger, and of making Boniface an instrument of the Roman church system for suppressing the freer institutions which sprang from the British and the Irish churches. The purpose of his mission was not barely to convert the Pagans, but quite as much also to bring back to orthodoxy and obedience to the Roman Church those whom the heretics had led astray" (those heretics being the comparatively Scriptural British and Irish missionaries so obnoxious to Rome).—NEANDER, *Ch. Hist.* vol. v. p. 66, BOHN'S Ed.

of that family and its patronage, when we remember that,

“While other realms were sinking together into one common ruin, and the world seemed about to become the prey of the Moslem, it was this race, the house of Pepin of Heristal, afterwards called the Carolingian, by which the first and effectual resistance was offered to the Mahometan conquerors.”—RANKE, p. 12.

The other event is the compelling of the Saxons by Charlemagne to embrace Christianity. This difficult and sanguinary business occupied eight years—death or Christianity being the alternative—as many as 4,500 of the unfortunate people having been beheaded on one spot; while “by the same victorious compulsion, the Huns of Pannonia were soon afterwards driven to the same necessity.” (GIBBON, vol. ix. p. 176; WADDINGTON, *Church History*, p. 148.) Thus, after Charles Martel had delivered Europe from the danger of such treatment by the Moslems, was the true Moslem principle taken up, and acted out by his own grandson.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE TWO FORGERIES.

ABOUT the middle of the 8th and 9th centuries, respectively, were produced "the two most celebrated monuments of human imposture and credulity—known as the 'Donation of Constantine,' and the 'False Decretals'—the two magic pillars of the temporal and spiritual monarchy of the Popes." (GIBBON, vol. ix. p. 160.) It seems almost incredible that such means should have been ventured on for promoting the advancement of a government, Christian even in name. But so it was, and we cannot properly estimate the system without taking due account of such contrivances.

DONATION OF CONSTANTINE.

By this we are told that

"Constantine the Great, cured of his leprosy by the prayers of Pope Sylvester, resolved, on the fourth day from his baptism,* to forsake the ancient seat for a new capital on the Bosphorus, lest the continuance of the secular government should cramp the freedom of the spiritual, and how he bestowed therewith upon the Pope and his successors the sovereignty over Italy, and the countries of the West. But this is not all, although this is what historians, in admiration of its splendid audacity, have chiefly dwelt upon. The edict proceeds to grant to the Roman pontiff and his clergy, including his successors to the end of the world, a series of dignities and privileges, all of them enjoyed by the Emperor and his Senate, all of them showing the same desire to make the pontifical a copy of the imperial office."—BRYCE, *Holy Rom. Emp.* p. 100.

* He was not baptized till his last illness, seventeen years after this.

Now here is the thing that chiefly concerns us. The temporal dominion is in itself of extreme importance. But more important for our purpose is it to see how, by this shameless Roman forgery, the Pope assumed to be the very counterpart of the Emperor, and his office the *perpetuation* of the Imperial dignity. First, comes the transference of the Lateran palace—probably enough a real thing, as we find, so soon after Constantine's quitting it, that it has become the Papal residence. Then, with the Lateran, goes the city itself, and the crown, and the collar, and the purple cloak, and scarlet* tunic, and all the imperial vestments, and moreover the imperial dignity of attendant *equites*, and the imperial sceptres, and all the badges, and diverse imperial ornaments, and whatever goes with imperial elevation, and "the glory of our power." And

"As our soldiery is adorned, so we decree that the clergy of the holy Roman Church be adorned, riding on white horses; and receiving the honours and immunities of the Senate and patricians; and, that the Pontifical dignity may suffer no depreciation, but be adorned with glory and power, beyond all that is earthly, we leave and bequeathe, &c. &c. For, where the Prince of priests, and Head of the Christian religion, has been stationed by the heavenly Emperor, it is not fit that the earthly emperor should there have power."†

Such were the Papal pretensions of that age—and the age was as ready to accept, as the Pope to express them. And if this was the character of Roman rule at that time—then, what else than a Papal-Imperial Sovereignty was it that had been set up? and what less was involved

* Compare the same colours in Rev. xvii. 3.

† These particulars are given by Dr. Bryce (p. 101) in his extracts from the original Latin forgery. He adds in a note—"The practice of kissing the Pope's foot was adopted in imitation of the old imperial court."

in this than the continued shining on the earth of the old Roman Sun?

This strange "document, then, was obviously intended to be shown to the Frankish king Pepin, and must have been compiled just before 753. Constantine relates in it how he served the Pope as his groom, and led his horse some distance. This induced Pepin to offer the Pope a homagium so foreign to Frankish ideas, and the Pope told him from the first that he expected, not a gift, but restitution, from him and his Franks. The first reference to this gift of Constantine occurs in Hadrian's letter to Charles the Great in 777, where he tells him that, as the new Constantine he has indeed given the Church what is her own, but that he has more of the old Imperial endowments to restore to her. The Popes had already been accustomed, for several years, since 752, to speak, not of gifts, but restitutions, in their letters; the Italian towns and provinces were to be restored, sometimes to St. Peter, sometimes to the Roman Republic. Such language first became intelligible, when the 'Donation of Constantine' was brought forward to show that the Pope was the rightful possessor, as heir of the Roman Caesars in Italy; for, he being at once the successor of Peter and of Constantine, what was given to the Roman Republic was given to Peter, and *vice versa*."—JANUS, pp. 132, 133.

We may well wonder, indeed, at the audacity which could set up to the light of day such grossness and falsehood. But, alas! there was no light, and no day then.

"Men who might be written to (as in the Epistle of St. Peter to his 'adopted son,' the king of the Franks) that their bodies and souls would be eternally lacerated and tormented in hell, if they did not fight against the enemies of the Church, believed, readily enough, that Constantine had given Italy to Pope Silvester. Those were days of darkness in France, and, in the complete extinction of all learning, there was not a single man about Pepin whose sharp-sightedness the Roman agents had reason to dread."—JANUS, p. 134.

Thus, for nearly 700 years, this scandalous forgery passed through the world undetected, and, with hardly an exception, unchallenged. But,

"In the revival of letters and liberty, the fictitious deed was transpierced by the pen of Laurentius Valla, the pen of an eloquent critic, and a Roman patriot. His contemporaries of the fifteenth century were astonished at his sacrilegious boldness; yet such is the silent and irresistible progress of reason that, before the end of the next age, the fable was rejected by the contempt of historians, and poets, and the tacit or modest censure of the advocates of the Roman Church. The Popes themselves have indulged a smile at the credulity of the vulgar; but a false and obsolete title still sanctifies their reign; and, by the same fortune which has attended the decretals and the Sibylline oracles, the edifice has subsisted, after the foundations have been undermined."—GIBBON, vol. ix. p. 162.

But now, if this first forgery displays more plainly the Papal pretensions as to sovereign authority, we have in the other, namely,

THE FALSE DECRETALS,

a more powerful instrument for the actual promoting of the dominion aimed at.

This work, composed close upon the year 845, was given out as the writing of Isidore, bishop of Seville (601–636), and professed to give about a hundred decretal letters, previous to those of Pope Siricius, the first who published such (385), and reaching back as far as the Apostolic age. With these were combined unknown acts of councils, and decrees of emperors.*

"It would be difficult to find, in all history, a second instance of so successful and yet so clumsy a forgery. For three centuries past it has been exposed, yet the principles it introduced and brought into practice have taken such deep root in the soil of the Church, and have so grown into her life that the exposure of the fraud has produced no result in shaking the dominant system."

"The immediate object of the compiler of this forgery was to protect

* ROBERTSON, *Papal Power*, p. 160; and WADDINGTON, p. 223.

bishops against their metropolitans, and other authorities, so as to secure absolute impunity, and the exclusion of all influence of the secular power. This end was to be gained through such an immense extension of the Papal power that, as these principles gradually penetrated the Church, and were followed out into their consequences, she necessarily assumed the form of an absolute monarchy, subjected to the arbitrary power of a single individual; and thus the foundation of the edifice of Papal Infallibility was already laid—first, by the principle that the decrees of every Council require Papal confirmation; secondly, by the assertion that the fulness of power, even in matters of faith, resides in the Pope alone, who is Bishop of the universal Church, while the other bishops are his servants.”—JANUS, pp. 94-96.

Thus, “by the invention and adoption of the ‘False Decretals,’ the Papacy had provided itself with a legal system suited to any emergency and which gave it unlimited authority throughout the Christian world in causes spiritual, and over persons ecclesiastical. Canonistical ingenuity found it easy, in one way or another, to make this include all causes and persons whatsoever; for crime is always, and wrong is often, sin; nor could be anywhere done which may not affect the clergy.”—BAYLY, *History of Rome*. Emp. p. 156.

The first of the Popes to turn this valuable forgery to account was Nicolas I., as we shall presently find; and although in the disordered state of the Papacy which followed, there was little use made of it for some ages, yet was it, during that necessary reaction in regard to Roman claims, only maturing for future use, as it gathered about itself something like a title to a respectable antiquity.

“For every year of undisputed authority,” however little that might be obtruded, “only contributed to confirm the new principles of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals.”—GIESLER, vol. ii. p. 364.

“Time and ignorance were steadily engaged in sanctifying the imposture and preparing it for more mischievous service in the hand of Hildebrand.”—WADDINGTON, p. 265.*

* We give the following specimens of the “Decretals” from NEANDER, *History of the Church*, vol. vi. p. 3. (Bohn.)

Thus the early Roman bishops quote Scripture from Jerome’s version

not made till about the end of the fourth century. They refer to relations between Church and State, which in *their* (assumed) times were impossible. Thus Zephyrinus in the second century is made to speak of the expulsion of bishops as forbidden by the *praecepta imperatorum*, these emperors being *pagans*! Victor, bishop of Rome, writes concerning the celebration of passover to Theophilus, bishop of *Alexandria*, who lived two centuries later, the place being mistaken for *Caesarea*! The Scriptural passages given in proof of the new principles "are altered and mutilated with an effrontery and ignorance equally shameful." Thus Pope Anacletus is made to adduce the words of the Sodomites against the angels in Gen. xix. 9, as the words of God Himself forbidding foreign judgments (*peregrina iudicia*) in ecclesiastical matters! And once more, the words in Heb. ix. 13, regarding the blood of Christ, are applied by Pope Alexander to the virtue of *holy water*—all reference to the mere *externalism* of the Mosaic rite being omitted—"Nam si cinis vitulae adpersus sanguine populum sanctificabat atque mundabat, multo magis aqua sale adpersa, diviniusque precibus sacrata, populum sanctificat atque mundat."

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM CHARLEMAGNE (814) TO HILDEBRAND (1048).

WE note down some of the chief facts, during this period, in connection with our object.

In 816 we find Pope Stephen IV. going to France to *apologize* for having assumed his office without the consent of the Emperor, Louis (the Meek.) Louis, without waiting for the Pope's submission, goes out to meet him—each then dismounting, and the Emperor prostrating himself three times at Stephen's feet. The Pope had brought with him a splendid crown, which he places on the Emperor's head.

On the other hand, in 824, the Emperor's son, Lothair, comes to Rome, during a vacancy, settles a contest for the Popedom, and requires that no Pope be consecrated without first swearing allegiance to the Emperor. All this seems much like the *shining of a sun—under an eclipse*.

Leo IV. (847–855) introduces a very significant alteration in the mode of addressing sovereigns. For, whereas Leo III. would have written, "To the most pious Lord, Charles, Emperor. . . . Leo, the Bishop"—thus styling the Emperor "*lord*," and giving *him* the first place—now, on the other hand, Leo IV. writes, "Leo, the Bishop, to the

most pious Charles, Emperor"—so putting *himself* first, and declining to call him "*lord*."*

We must take special notice of Nicolas I. (858-867) who

"exceeded all his predecessors in the audacity of his designs. Favoured and protected by the break-up of the Empire of Charles the Great, he met East and West alike with the firm resolution of pressing to the uttermost every claim of any one of his predecessors, and pushing the limits of the Roman supremacy to the point of *absolute monarchy*."—JANUS, p. 98.

About a hundred years after his death, an Italian abbot wrote of him—

"From the time of Bishop Gregory to our own time, none appears worthy to be compared with him. He gave his commands to kings and tyrants, and ruled over them with authority, as if he were lord of the world. To bishops and priests who observed the divine commands he appeared humble, mild, piteous, gentle; to the irreligious, and those who strayed from the right path, he was terrible, and full of austerity; so that in him another Elias may be deservedly believed to have arisen in our time."—ROBERTSON, p. 169.

The Emperor Louis II., when visited in his camp by this Pope, walked at his side, holding the bridle of the horse on which Nicolas rode. The same Pope forbade Lothair II. to divorce his wife, while he ventured to depose two French Metropolitans, and to annul the decisions of a national Council that had taken the other side.†

We have already mentioned that this was the first Pope who made use of the "False Decretals." The circum-

* ROBERTSON, *Papal Power*, pp. 166, 8, 9.

† ROBERTSON, p. 173.

stances are so important, as regards both him and his successors, that we cannot refrain from referring to them.

Rothad, a French bishop, having been deposed by his Metropolitan, the famous Hincmar, went to Rome and appealed to the Pope. Nicolas at once complained to Hincmar that the case had not been referred to him at the first, urging that thus "the Decretals of his predecessors (*i.e.* the collection now in question) had been violated," as the deposition of bishops was "one of those 'greater judgments' which belonged to the Pope alone." This was in 864. Now, just a year before this, Nicolas had spoken of the *decretal* of Siricius (385) as the earliest of its class—thus showing his ignorance of the new collection. Hence, his acquaintance with this last had *come through Rothad*—a man who belonged to the Decretal party in France, and is himself suspected of a share in the Forgery. And yet so warmly had Nicolas embraced the grand discovery, that, when some of the French bishops ventured to express their disbelief of it, he at once repelled the objection, "strongly and scornfully."

Now see the meaning of this. It meant that Nicolas believed—to say nothing of other absurdities—that these Papal Decretals, copies and memory together, had been all lost in Rome, to which they actually belonged; and, after doing their duty in their mission to the Churches, had been collected, in a combined form, in Spain, from two to five hundred years after their first publication—and then, after this wonderful gathering into one by the laborious Isidore, had still continued imprisoned in Seville, or somewhere, for another two centuries and quarter—none

of those in whose interest the collection had been made getting the least benefit from it—until, at last, starting up somewhere in Germany, or France, it had crossed the Alps, and passed from the hand of Rothad into the hand of Nicolas—and that just at the moment when, on the strength of the same document, the one was looking to the other for restoration to the bishopric of Soissons!

Such is the case as against the honesty of Nicolas in professing to believe in the "False Decretals." We take the *facts* from a writer of some name in Church History, who, after presenting them to us in evidence, gives us this for his verdict—"Yet it seems *probable* that his *fault may have reached no further than to an avoidance of inquiry* into the pretensions of documents so favourable to the claims of Rome." The verdict, we make bold to answer, is altogether contrary to the evidence. Nicolas was not the fool—and a very extraordinary fool he would have been—to commit *just such a fault as that*. "And this," (*i.e. the not inquiring*) continues the same writer, "*although blamable*, is a fault far short of that which some writers have not hesitated to charge against him, by supposing that, while he eagerly caught at the help of the Decretals, he was aware of their spurious character."*

And why, then, did Nicolas not make the important inquiry which his charitable English critic thinks would have been proper? Why? Just because he was not a fool. He understood the business of a ninth century Pope

* Canon ROBERTSON, *Papal Power*, pp. 174–6. The same facts, with authorities, may be seen in GIESELER, vol. ii. p. 341; NEANDER, vol. vi. pp. 20, *sqq.*

too well for that. Just imagine Nicolas honestly sitting down to *inquire* if these Decretals were genuine. Why the very inquiry were a dishonesty. As soon inquire if Damasus and Silvester were still alive in Rome, as inquire whether any of these Decretals were their living utterances. No, no; Nicolas understands too well what the past Decretal business, with all its contrivance and concealment, must have been; and to go through another such business to make it good—to arrange all the new forgeries that would be needful to guarantee the old—this would be too much even for him. There is a shorter plan than that. A bold face will settle the question a thousand times better than all the inquiry in the world. When a man has a piece of property offered to him, which he much suspects has been stolen, but which he greatly covets notwithstanding—let him at once take possession of it, and with all simplicity carry it home, but on no account provoke inquiry.*

Do we say, then, that Pope Nicolas was conscious of deliberate falsehood in thus pronouncing on the forged Decretals? Far from it. We believe that there needs a genuine conscience for truth, before there can be a distinct consciousness of falsehood. But, as every one knows, it has been a very common practice in this world to treat truth and falsehood as simply matters of convenience.

* Here is a sample of the way in which Nicolas I. appropriates the treasure—it occurs in his reply to the universal Episcopate of Gaul—
 “Absit enim, ut—decretalia constituta—debito cultu et cum summa discretionem non amplectamur opuscula, quæ dumtaxat et antiquitas Romana Ecclesia conservans, nobis quoque custodienda mandavit, et posset se in suis archivis et vetustis rite monumentis recondita veneratur.” (Italaours.) See GIESELER II. p. 333.

And it so happens that, when the *false* is the *convenient*, the mind becomes so engrossed with the arrangements for securing the end in view that there is little consciousness left of anything else. When a Spartan youth went a thieving he had little consciousness of anything but a very strong desire to manage his business successfully. *

But now, returning to the chief events bearing on our purpose, we find—after a very different acceptance of the new Roman claims under Adrian II., 867–872, from that which Nicolas had obtained for them—that in 881 Charles *the Bald*, anxious to secure the Imperial dignity, went to Rome and obtained it from the hands of John VIII., who had the courage to exercise this high prerogative, notwithstanding the opposition of Louis of Germany. In return for this Papal favour, Charles annulled the obligation hitherto resting on the Pope elect to seek for Imperial confirmation. And this state of things continued for a time.

Shortly after this, on the deposition of the same Charles (887), the Imperial power sank to a shadow, till the time of Otho the Great.

But still more remarkable was the change that came over the Papacy during this period. In the absence of Imperial control over the Papal elections, the history of the Popedom consists almost entirely of continual changes, and furious contests among the Roman nobles for the much coveted dignity.† Pope Formosus, dying in 896, was by

* The claims of Nicolas for obedience to Papal mandates rested, we are told, not so much on the principles previously set forth, as “on the ground that *Rome was Rome*.” ROBERTSON, p. 187; and see his *History of the Christian Church*, 4 vols., for the original authorities.

† From 882 to 903 were twelve Popes. See GIESELER, vol. ii. p. 350.

Stephen VI. taken out of his tomb, pontifically arrayed, placed in his chair, tried for certain uncanonical acts, and degraded; upon which his naked body was dragged through the streets, and thrown into the Tiber. This infamous Stephen, having succeeded one who had held the office for fifteen days, was himself strangled in the year of his own appointment.* Then, for more than half a century (904–963), the sacred chair was at the disposal of a party headed by Adalbert of Tuscany, and guided by three women as infamous as ever lived, Theodora with her daughters Theodora and Marozia, who made Popes, at will, of their paramours, their children, and grand-children.† One of these last, Octavian, a boy of sixteen or eighteen, who had been a clerk of some sort, assumed, during a vacancy, the exalted office “which he disgraced by the most shameful excesses,” and was the Pope (John XII.) from whom a man like Otho I., the second restorer of the Western Empire,‡

* GIESELER, vol. ii. p. 350; ROBERTSON, p. 180, and BOWER, v. p. 73.

† One of these, John X., made Pope from his relationship to Theodora, was murdered in prison for seeking to act independently, and was succeeded by John XI., son of Marozia and Pope Sergius III. (GIESELER.)

‡ He was the founder also of the Holy Roman Empire; but into the *principle*, or *idea*, as we may say, of that, we are not called to enter. It is ours to keep to historical fact, as independent of any theory on the subject. Enough to know here that the Emperor was understood to act as “Protector of the Holy See,” while “the Pope still owned himself for a subject, and the citizens swore for the future to elect no Pontiff without Otho’s consent.” Under this strange alliance the Pope was the “World-Priest” (or *Imperator Coelestis*), and the Emperor the “World-Monarch” (or *Imperator terrenus*), “two persons representing on earth a similitude of divine unity.” How freely the Popes handled this unity—when it suited them—we shall soon see. We need not wonder to find the *historians* of that remarkable Institution speaking of it, in the light in which we now see it, “as a gorgeous anachronism.” (BRYCE, *Holy Rom. Emp.* pp. 88–104; and HALLAM, *Middle Ages*, one vol. p. 150.)

condescended (962) to "accept the Imperial dignity, which had been suspended for nearly forty years," one of the most important acts of that great Emperor being to depose the same John in the following year. For ten years from that time, while Otho lived, some order was maintained in Rome. After that the Tuscan party, under Crescentius, a son of the younger Theodora, regained its sway; and then, at the close of the century, there occurs an episode of singular interest in the history. We speak of the "short, sad reign of Otho III., full of bright promise never fulfilled." His mother was the Imperial Greek princess Theophania, whom his grandfather the great Otho had, though scornfully repulsed at first, obtained in marriage for his son and successor, the second Otho; and for a tutor the bright boy had the illustrious Gerbert, the most famous teacher of his day, and one hardly excelled even since. Through the one of these the youth had learned to pant for all the imperialism of Byzantium; while

"By the other he had been reared in the dream of a renovated Rome, with her memories turned to realities. And so it was his design to renew the majesty of the city, and make her again the capital of a world-embracing Empire, victorious as Trajan's, despotic as Justinian's, holy as Constantine's. In A.D. 995, at the age of fifteen, he took into his own hands the reins of government, and entered Italy to receive his crown, and quell the turbulence of Rome. There he put to death the rebel Crescentius," and in the course of his short reign had the opportunity of nominating two Popes—his cousin Bruno* (Gregory V.) in 996, and

* This Bruno, we are given to understand, was one of the mildest of men; but as Pope he was vigorous enough. Besides his action towards the great scholar who succeeded him, his excommunication of Robert I. of France for an uncanonical marriage (997) is the most famous instance of that sort of thing previously to Hildebrand. "Two attendants only, if we may trust a current history, remained with Robert, while under this ban, and these threw all the meats which had passed his table into the fire."—HALLAM, *Middle Ages*, p. 350. (ch. vii.)

Gerbert (then archbishop of Ravenna)—under the title of Silvester II., in 999. "With the substitution of these men for the profligate priests of Italy, began that Teutonic reform of the Papacy which raised it from the abyss of the tenth century to the point where Hildebrand found it. *The emperors* were working the ruin of their power by their most disinterested acts."

"With his tutor on Peter's chair to second or direct him, Otho laboured on his great project in a spirit almost mystic. He had an intense religious belief in the Emperor's duties to the world—in his proclamations he calls himself 'Servant of the Apostles,' 'Servant of Jesus Christ'—together with the ambitious antiquarianism of a fiery imagination, kindled by the memorials of the glory and power he represented. Even the wording of his laws witnesses to the strange mixture of notions that filled his eager brain. 'We have ordained this,' says an edict, 'in order that, the Church of God being freely and firmly stablished, our Empire may be advanced and the crown of our knighthood triumph; that the power of the Roman people may be extended and the commonwealth be restored; so may we be found worthy, after living righteously in the tabernacle of this world, to fly away from the prison of this life, and reign most righteously with the Lord' . . . Short as was his life, and few his acts, Otho III. is in one respect more memorable than any who went before or came after him. None, save he, desired to make the seven-hilled city again the seat of dominion, reducing Germany and Lombardy and Greece to their rightful place of subject provinces."—BRYCE, pp. 145-9; part of it abridged.

Such was the dream of this interesting Prince. Had it been only realized, then the stream of history would have been diverted into another channel; and the Holy Roman Empire, not the Papal dominion, would have been the true continuation of the Roman Sun as emerging from the eclipse. But it was not realized; for, at the age of 22, this "wonder of the world," as his own generation called him, passed away, leaving Rome to return for a time to the chaos with which she had become so familiar.*

* When seeking towards the close of his life to quell a disturbance in Rome, Otho "was, during three days, invested in his palace, from which

The Tuscan party became once more the arbiter of the Papal fortunes—soon after the death of Gerbert, 1003, till the interference of another German in 1046. At length the Count of Tusculum, a descendant of the infamous Marozia, went so far as to transform into Pope Benedict IX., a boy about 12 years old.* This creature, odious for his vices,† is twice driven from Rome and twice returns, adding one to the two rivals set up in his absence—this company of pretenders being “styled by an unceremonious contemporary, ‘*The Three Devils*.’” And this is the state of things from which the Papal advocate, Baronius, draws the conclusion, that the Papacy must have been under the special favour of heaven; for otherwise, “it could never have survived such a succession of monstrous men, most base in life, most abandoned in morals, and in every way most foul!”‡

It becomes here an important question, how far the reputation of the Papacy was really affected, throughout Europe, by all this baseness. Some tell us, without any modification, that “the things alluded to had little or no effect on its estimation at a distance. . . . The Pope was still regarded only in his ideal character;” adding

he was with great difficulty rescued. Deeply offended by this instance of the ingratitude of a people to whom he had been so strongly attached, he was preparing to inflict on them the vengeance which they had provoked, when death arrested his career, and defeated a scheme which would have destroyed the independence of the Papal power, and confounded the system of Europe.”—MILLER, *Phil. of Hist.* vol. i. p. 237.

* The age is differently given; some say more, some less. Neander gives it as above, vol. vi. p. 42.

† “*Rapinas, caedes, aliaque nefanda, sine ulla dilatione.*”

‡ See for the whole account GIESELER, vol. ii. pp. 349, 399; and ROBERTSON, 179, *sqq.*; NEANDER, vol. vi. 37, *sqq.*

that "the Papal power was on the increase during all this time."* To much the same purpose one of our most important writers says, "Despicable as many of the Popes had made themselves during the past period, the Papacy itself was not so."† On the other hand, we have the manifest fact that the Pope's authority went for very little throughout Europe during that period. The chief attempt made to promote it seems to have been the one which had in view the ousting of Gerbert from his archbishopric at Rheims; and yet that attempt was contemptuously rejected, with the Decretals on which it was based—until being renewed, as we have seen, in circumstances altogether different, it met with entire success.‡

In exact accordance with the sentiments uttered at

* ROBERTSON, p. 183.

† GIESELER, vol. ii. p. 364.

‡ We can better understand from the following how the German, Gregory V., would be the more in earnest in the case. "The influence of the Decretals is shown in the decisions of the German National Synod at Tribur in 895. We may see here how deeply the pseudo-Isidore, with the *Imperial dignity of his Popes, and their dictatorial commands*, had penetrated into the very life-blood of the German hierarchy." (JANUS, p. 144.) It is a strange story, this of Silvester and Gerbert, when all put together. First, we have John xv., on the ground of the "Decretals," professing to restore to the archbishopric of Rheims, an evildoer called Arnulf, and to depose Gerbert. Then we have Gerbert, renouncing the *Decretals*, retaining his position, and triumphing over the Pope. Next we have Silvester repeating the act of John—while Gerbert still resisting is now triumphed over—and yet continues to resist till he reluctantly submits. Then after all, this same Gerbert, most enlightened and learned of all in his day, succeeds Silvester in the Popedom, and allows the *Decretals*, whose character he so well knew, to take their course unhindered. (See the account in GIESELER, vol. ii. p. 356.) Are we to suppose that Gerbert was like the famous Hincmar of whom Nicolas said that he accepted the Decretals when they suited himself, and rejected them when they did not?

Rheims on the former of these occasions,* is the view given by another writer—

“A succession of infamous Popes . . . had disgraced the chair of the Apostle, and though Rome herself might be lost to decency, Western Christendom was roused to anger and alarm.”—BAYCE, p. 85.

Now that this last is correct, is clear enough; and yet there is some truth in the other view also. The accepted Papal “ideal” exercised over men’s minds an extensive sway, while individual character found a shelter behind it. Most in Europe heard little, saw nothing, and felt no more, of what was going on in Rome—while many who went and saw, saw indeed the man bad, but the Pope great. It was just as it had been with Jupiter; he might be ever so bad, but he was Jupiter still—father of gods and men. And we must not forget that the Pope had now claimed, in the name of him who had refused the homage of Cornelius, much of the worship formally accorded to the Capitoline Jove.

But to return. In the frightful state of things that had

* Here are the words of Arnulph, Bishop of Orleans, as spoken in the above case—“O lugenda Roma, quae nostris majoribus clara patrum lumina protulisti, nostris temporibus monstruosas tenebras futuro saeculo famosas offudisti! . . . Nam quid sub haec tempora non vidimus? Vidimus Johannem in volutabro libidinum versatum, &c. &c. Num talibus monstis hominum ignominia plenis, scientia divinarum et humanarum rerum vacuis, innumeros sacerdotes Dei per orbem terrarum, scientia et vitae merito conspicuos subjeci decretum est? Quid nunc, rev. Patres, in sublimi solio residentem, veste purpurea et aurea radiantem, quid hunc, inquam, esse censetis? Nimirum si caritate destituitur, solaque scientia inflatur et extollitur, Antichristus est, in templo Dei sedens, et se ostendens, tanquam sit Deus. Si autem nec fundatur, nec scientia erigitur, in templo dei tanquam statua, tanquam idolum est, a quo responsa petere, marmora consulere est.”—GIESELER, vol. ii. p. 356.

again come about in Rome, the Emperor Henry III., appealed to by the Roman clergy themselves, calls a Synod (1046) at Sutri, a Papal city, and appoints as Pope (Clement II.) the Bishop of Bamberg. The crisis is now at hand, and this decisive act of Imperial intervention is just what was wanted to call out the man, for whom it was reserved to settle the question, WHO IS LORD IN ROME? For ages past the Pope had been truly a king, and a greater one than Judæan Herod—but still, like him, only a sub-king. It is now time that he take the place of SOVEREIGN.

CHAPTER XV.

HILDEBRAND (1048-1085).

THE question, as we have seen, now was, whether Rome was at last to enjoy an independent sovereignty, or to continue, as heretofore, under subjection;* and at that question Hildebrand worked unweariedly for thirty-seven years—the last twelve, as Gregory VII.; and the previous twenty-five, as the governing spirit of five predecessors.† It was no delicate work that had to be done, and there was no tendency to scrupulosity in the doer. It will

* NEANDER, vol. vii. p. 111.

† These were *Gregory IX.*—chosen as Pope at Worms, under Henry III. He walks barefoot to Rome—joins Hildebrand by the way, who instils into him the true Papal principle. *Victor II.*—the most important man in Germany, after the Emperor, who is extremely unwilling to part with him—chosen by Hildebrand alone, who will accept of no other. *Stephen IX.*—*Nicolas II.*—*Alexander II.* Of the two last we shall hear again.

What Hildebrand's position under his predecessors was, we can well see in the oft-quoted lines of Petrus Damiani—no scoffing epigrammatist, be it understood, but Cardinal, and among the foremost of the Gregorians.

“Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro :
Tu facis hunc dominum—te facit ille Deum.”

In English—The Pope I worship as men ought, but prostrate adore thee :
As Lord indeed thou holdest him—he God makes thee to be.

Again—“Vivere vis Romæ, clara depromito voce—
Plus domino Papæ quam Domno pareo Papæ.”

Thus—Wouldst live at Rome?—With clear voice firmly say,
I the Pope's Lord more than Lord Pope obey.

suffice to give a sample or two of the preliminary part of the undertaking.

In 1056 died the Emperor Henry III.—who had ruled both Church and State with a firm hand *—leaving as his successor Henry IV. at the age of five—

“whose court was for years a scene of intrigues between unprincipled factions, while his training, as a prince and a Christian, was shamefully neglected by his guardians”—the chief of whom was his Imperial mother Agnes. “Through this neglect of his education Henry grew up with a character not well fitted to retrieve the mischief of so unprotected a minority; brave indeed, well-natured and affable, but dissolute beyond measure, and addicted to low and debauched company.”—HALLAM, p. 288.

Three years after the death of Henry III., the first effective step was taken towards complete Roman independence. For, under Nicolas II., the appointment of Pope was distinctly placed in Roman hands. The actual nomination was to be made by the *College of Cardinals*—consisting of the seven Roman bishops,† and twenty-eight presbyters, the ministers of as many Roman parishes—while, for the present, a veto was left to the nobles, the people, and the other Roman clergy (WADDINGTON, p. 272)—there being allowed to the Emperor nothing but the confirmation of the appointment, and even that was re-

* After describing his style of action in civil matters, Mr. Hallam adds, “If we combine with these proofs of authority in the domestic administration of Henry III., his almost unlimited control over Papal elections, or rather, the right of nomination that he acquired, we must consider him as the most absolute monarch in the annals of Germany.”—*Middle Ages*, p. 288.

† That is, of the seven dioceses which formed the Pope’s immediate province; namely, Ostia, Porto, St. Rufina, Albano, Sabina, Tusculum, and Palestrina.—ROBERTSON, p. 200.

stricted to the Emperor of the day, now a child of eight, and any of his successors to whom the Apostolic See might concede the privilege.*

Another important event occurred under Nicolas II. Already had Leo. IX. gained in a remarkable way a decisive influence over the Norman invaders of Italy. And now, to complete what was then begun, Robert Guiscard, their leader, is created by Pope Nicolas Duke of Apulia, engaging to render inviolable allegiance, and pay an annual tribute to the Apostolic See in token of subjection to the same.—WADDINGTON, p. 275.

Nicolas II. dying in 1062, Alexander II. was appointed to succeed. The Roman nobles resisted, and were encouraged by the exasperated Emperor, from whom *no act of confirmation* (notwithstanding the express engagement to that effect) had been sought. But the genius of Hildebrand triumphed, and after a contest of three years—during which a counter-election took place on the part of the Roman nobles and the Imperial power—Alexander was firmly established in the chair.—*Ibid.*

At last came the memorable year 1073, with the elevation of Hildebrand—the last Pope (shall we say) who sought imperial confirmation of his election? No, he did not ask for that. He actually asked (will it be

* The boldness of this step will be seen from the language of the Edict—"Let the cardinals, &c., choose from the bosom of the Church itself, if a fit person can be found, and if not from some other—saving the honour and reverence due to our beloved son Henry (who at present is accounted king, and is expected by divine permission to become Emperor) as now we have conceded to him, and to any one of his successors who *personally shall have obtained this right from the Apostolic See.*—GIESELER, vol. ii. p. 368.

believed?) that the Emperor would *not confirm* it—so unworthy was he of such an office!*

And now, after the decisive advantage already secured under Nicolas II., in the vital matter of Papal Election, the exertions of the new Pope were chiefly directed to the two great objects which came next in importance.

The *first* of these was to secure the *celibacy* of the clergy—mad as the attempt might seem thus to overthrow that social order which was so plainly in harmony with the mind of the Creator, as well as with the whole tenor of the inspired word. No wonder that the clergy resisted. The Germans told the Pope that “He for whom men were not good enough might look about for angels to preside over the churches.” They even threatened with deposition and death the Archbishop of Mentz, who was insisting on obedience.† On the other hand, such was the *popular* opposition to the married priests that “in many parts of Germany no ministers were left to perform divine service.”‡ This was in 1074; and it soon appeared that the clergy were not yet prepared, as a body, to submit to the yoke. So even Hildebrand had to modify his scheme, and endure the postponement of its success. That it did eventually succeed, though not in his day, may well be regarded as one of the marvels of history—showing how strangely a class of men, to be reckoned by myriads, had surrendered themselves, and that where their own position was impregnable, to the *dictation and dominion of one*.

The *second* object had respect to ecclesiastical appoint-

* See BOWER, vol. v. p. 239. † NEANDER, vol. vii. p. 129.

‡ HALLAM, p. 354.

ments—the professed aim being the prevention of simony ; though that was really only another form of the one grand scheme for reducing the whole Episcopal order into entire subjection to the See of Rome. It had been a matter of the highest importance to the temporal prince that he should appoint to their benefices the bishops of his realm—both on account of the direct pecuniary gain, and from the hold that he thus obtained over them. These were days in which it was customary to speak of counties being situated in dioceses as well as of dioceses in counties *—when half of the lands in Germany and England, and perhaps as much in France, was in the hands of Churchmen. It had long been a royal practice, in fact, to lavish estates on such—sometimes whole counties—as a counterpoise to the power of the nobles, by which the co-operation of the prelates with the king, and their dependence on him, were alike secured. They were commonly appointed by him, installed by him, swore allegiance to him, like other vassals, appeared at his court, even followed him in war;† and thus in the whole course of their life seemed indissolubly bound up with him. It was their interest, their pleasure, their glory, to be thus associated. Which of the two parties was more needful to the other it would be hard to say. So vast a matter was it in those days that kings and emperors should maintain their hold over the bishops. And yet this was the line of battle which Hildebrand had undertaken to break. It might be important for the German ruler that matters should continue as they were; but for Roman

* *RANKE*, vol. i. p. 17.† *GIESELER*, vol. ii. p. 375.

dominion it was indispensable that they should not. And so the trumpet was sounded, and war proclaimed with the highest of earthly dignities. Henceforth the Emperor shall retire from all share in this grand matter of episcopal investiture—profits and privileges alike—and to the Pope alone shall be the honour and advantage of bestowing ring and crosier—so marrying the bishop to his Church, installing him as pastor of the flock, investing him in the most princely of all robes. Any one accepting bishopric or abbacy from a layman shall not now be regarded as bishop or abbot—and any layman venturing to bestow such investiture in any Church office shall be—*excommunicated*.* There will be no risk, of course, of any simony then. It is the secular ruler only that is liable to such temptation. One invested with the merits of St. Peter is safe anywhere—not to say, as it did come to be said, that “what was simony in others was no simony in the Pope.”

Now so long as Hildebrand seemed to contend only against the vice of simony, and that out of zeal for reformation in the Church—his original and ostensible ground—even Henry IV. could look on, and smile approvingly. He too could hold the theory that simony was bad, and that even an Emperor should give the promise to abstain from it. Promises, however, were not performances; and Hildebrand was working for something more than even the latter. Nothing, in fact, could worse have suited the Papal plan of action than a thorough Imperial reformation in regard to the matters alleged:

* BOWER, vol. v. p. 150; NEANDER, vol. vii. p. 138.

But just as little as Hildebrand intended to rest with any such reformation, did Henry intend to advance as far. So he went on his own way, and Gregory, by his legates, summoned him to Rome, there to answer for himself.* This was after he had already, in the boldest manner, threatened with interdicts and deposition, a king like Philip I. of France†—after he had already excommunicated some of the highest prelates in Germany, together with certain members of the royal house for this same offence of simony—and had warned the Emperor himself that he too would be similarly dealt with, if he continued to communicate with these. Henry's patience was worn out at last; and now, fairly aroused by the wanton insult, as he regarded it, done to him, he called a

* Such is the statement made by a trustworthy contemporary historian, Lambert of Aschaffenburg, and accepted by our historians. (See HALLAM, p. 358; BRYCE, p. 159; WADDINGTON, p. 281.) On the other hand, NEANDER (vol. vii. p. 144), though speaking (p. 155) of the "impartial" Lambert, objects to the account as improbable—chiefly on *ethical* grounds—always a hazardous style of objection in the face of direct testimony; while here, as so commonly, it can well be argued that the ethical and subjective side itself actually demands for its explanation the fact in question.

† One of his very first acts as Pope was to write to this king, charging him with plundering Church property, and allowing great disorders in the monasteries—for which he threatened him with the censures of the Church. Philip received the warning humbly, and assured the Pope that he should have no cause of complaint in future. At the same time, a certain Landri having been duly elected Bishop of Maçon, the king refusing him investiture without a fee, Gregory wrote to the archbishop of Lyons, ordering him to proceed at once to the ordination, in spite of the king—which as he did not dare to do—the bishop elect came to Rome for the ceremony. In the following year, the same king having extorted large sums of money from some Italian merchants visiting France, the Pope wrote to the French Prelates, painting the king as a tyrant and monster, whom he will deprive of his kingdom, unless he amend.—BOWER, v. pp. 241, 246.

council of German bishops, and actually proceeded to depose the Pope.

Henry, king by the grace of God, and not by the will of man, to Hildebrand, no longer apostolical, but a false monk . . . this sentence of condemnation having been pronounced upon you by us, and all our bishops, descend from the apostolical chair which you have usurped ; let another mount the chair of St. Peter, who will not cloak deeds of violence under religion, but set forth the sound doctrines of St. Peter. I, Henry, and all our bishops, bid you come down, come down.”—NEANDER, vol. vii. p. 147.

It would seem as if the Pope had at last gone too far—as if, in the storm which he had aroused, by his decrees on celibacy and simony, the bark of Peter must either founder, or change its course—as if, in short, the dominion which Hildebrand aimed at were impossible in this world. So it might have seemed to others—but not to him. Nothing daunted by Henry’s act—although he had just escaped with his life from a Roman castle to which he had been forcibly carried off wounded—the Pope boldly returned it with a far more powerful stroke—“pronouncing sentence of excommunication on Henry, and declaring that he had forfeited the kingdoms of Italy and Germany, and that his subjects were absolved from their oath of fealty.” *

In vain did Henry and his counsellors try to regard this

* NEANDER, vol. vii. p. 147 ; WADDINGTON, p. 281 ; HALLAM, p. 356, and BRYCE, p. 161, who quotes these words : “ Come now, I beseech you, O most holy and blessed Fathers and Princes, Peter and Paul, that all the world may understand and know that, if ye are able to bind and loose in heaven, ye are likewise able on earth, according to the merits of each man, to give and to take away empires, kingdoms, principedoms, marquisesates, duchies, countships, and the possessions of all men. For if ye judge spiritual things, what must we believe to be your power over worldly things ? and if ye judge the angels who rule over all proud princes, what can ye not do to their slaves ? ”

as mere empty thunder. Partly from superstitious dread—partly from motives of convenience—his subjects began to rise up against his authority. The Suabian and Saxon princes assembled at Tribur, and, under the influence of the Papal legates, resolved to elect a new king. Henry was greatly moved by the scenes of confusion and disaffection on every side, and began to show tokens of submission. A mutual agreement was at length come to, that the Pope should be invited to Augsburg in February, 1077, to settle the case—it being understood that all parties would then yield to his judgment; while, for the present, Henry should renounce the government, and live as a private man. The delay, however, soon became more than he could bear, and he determined, by a personal visit to the Pope, to seek absolution and reconciliation.*

Meanwhile, the Emperor Henry had despatched messengers to the Pope, promising satisfaction and amendment, but no heed was given to them. Then, in advance of himself, came the excommunicated nobles and bishops of Germany, as penitents, barefoot, begging absolution. This, after a term of penance in a solitary cell, was granted to the Bishops—the Pope mildly reproving them for their past conduct, and “exhorting them to guard against the same for the future.”—NEANDER, vol. vii. p. 156.

* NEANDER (abridged), vol. vii. p. 153.

Henry, at this stage, was most anxious for reconciliation, and willing to yield much to the Pope, but Gregory would yield nothing. He only offered him a form of *oath*, to engage for entire obedience to the Pope's commands, and by which he should consecrate himself as *miles Sancti Petri et illius*.—*Ibid*, p. 163.

Gregory was now residing for security in Matilda's castle at Canossa, near Reggio, in Modena—and to visit him there Henry had set out in the severe winter of 1076. With his wife, and a single attendant of no rank, he had crossed the Alps, just before Christmas—hardly finding his way through the worst and most unusual passes, all the others being in the hands of his enemies. It was a desperate step; but it was to induce him whom he had just scorned as an impudent monk to lift off the terrible sentence under which he lay. We need not enlarge upon a scene so often described. The Pope, after treating the young king with an extraordinary severity, at last yielded to the entreaties of his own adherents; and, in the exercise of that clemency for which they begged, admitted the monarch within the castle walls—obliging him to stand there for three days* in penitential garb, starving and shivering amid Apennine snows; till, on the fourth day, he was admitted into the Papal presence. And then, after hearing his confessions, the Roman priest granted absolution to the German sovereign—and yet only *personal*—and, even that, on the *condition* of his appearing at the appointed assembly in Augsburg, and there submitting unreservedly to the Papal decision—while, for the present, he must entirely renounce the government. An extraordinary scene truly. Europe had seen nothing to be mentioned beside it, since the day when, at the bidding of Churchmen, Charlemagne's first successor had given up his throne and purple for a monk's cell and frock, in the city which had seen him crowned. And yet, as compared with

* Dr BRYCE says, "Three days and nights." p. 159.

the degradation of Henry, the act of Louis was dignity itself.

Thus degraded, Henry returned home. But the humiliation was more than he could bear, and, stung alike by the thought of what he had done, and the treatment now accorded to him by his own subjects, he threw off his bonds, and proclaimed himself a king once more. The result was that his enemies set up Rudolph of Suabia as their sovereign, and Germany was plunged in war. Meanwhile, Gregory looked on—"expressed the pain it gave him to see so many Christians fall victims to temporal and eternal death, through the pride of one man—to see the Christian religion and Roman Church thus prostrated to the ground."* And yet he abstained from saying who this proud man was, and was content to call on the Germans to obey him who obeyed the Apostolic See. The Germans, especially Rudolph's party, bitterly reproached him with this ambiguous behaviour, but Gregory was unmoved, and declared that he would adhere to the principles on which he had always acted. At length, in 1080, after three years of this murderous strife, fortune seeming to incline to the Suabian, Gregory, at a Roman synod, pronounced him king of Germany, and sent him a crown, with a motto inscribed, in which he claimed for himself, as in St. Peter's place, the authority of deciding the contest.† But whatever his right, the power was wanting. Rudolph was soon after slain in battle; and

* NEANDER, vol. vii. p. 163.

† "Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolpho." That is to say,

This crown the Rock to Peter gave,
And Peter grants Rudolph to have.

Henry, after vainly trying to negotiate with the Pope, marched on Rome—assaulted it without success—and again the next year—and the next again—until, in the fourth,* the Romans, worn out with vexation, opened the gates, when Henry entered—pronounced Gregory deposed, set up a Clement III. in his stead, and, from this shadow of a Pope, received at last the imperial crown. Meanwhile, Gregory was quietly looking on from his fortress of St. Angelo, and, having called for the services of his feudal Duke Robert, had the satisfaction of seeing Henry precipitately depart with his Pope, he himself being thus restored to his rightful dignity.† We can now appreciate the value of a transaction, which otherwise might have appeared as having more of show than of substance. We allude to the allegiance sworn by this Norman Duke to the Apostolic See. In requiring a protector, the Pope differed in nothing from any other earthly prince. The question simply was, as with all such, whether the protector should be lord or servant. Hitherto it had been the German lord; it now becomes the Norman vassal. Thus the Pope becomes a sovereign indeed—a prince among the kings of the earth, according to the most genuine pattern of medieval kingship. Thus saved, then, by his faithful vassal, but not able to trust his own Romans, he quitted the city in the company of his deliverer, and in the following year (1085) died at Salerno. His own view of his position was this—"I have hated iniquity, and loved righteousness; therefore I die in exile." However that

* We take this circumstance of the year from GIBBON, vol. x. p. 302.

† NEANDER, *ib.* p. 162-4.

might be—and without asking, for example, whether there was any iniquity in his kindling and fostering of that murderous German war—one thing is clear enough; namely, that his dying at Salerno, in such circumstances, no more militates against his true Roman sovereignty, than the dying of Tiberius at Capreae did against his.*

It was enough—even had that been all—to prove such sovereignty, that, from his Roman elevation, he had become a real ruler among the rulers of the world, an accepted arbiter in the disputes of others for the highest dominion—and that, while he had made *himself* independent of a master, he had achieved so much in the great struggle which was to make a whole army of Church rulers dependent on the Pope alone—formulating in all episcopal, and, by implication, in all ecclesiastical, cases, *the obligation of universal appeal to Rome*. What could be imperial, if this was not? It is true that several of his successors had to struggle hard to secure what he had won, and that, at times, as in warfare generally, the advantage might seem to lean to their opponents. It is true also that some of his pretensions—as when he claimed so many European States as Roman fiefs—overshot the mark, and never met with more than very partial acceptance. All that, in fact, was the mere intoxication of his pride—a most needless (but not therefore an equally useless) excrescence from the growth of his

* We must not omit to add that, as Hildebrand really ruled in the persons of five Popes before his own elevation, so he did in two successors—who had been named by himself—after his death. And one of these, Urban II., who lived till the end of the century, was the man who, as the originator of the Crusades, swayed Europe at that eventful period.

true sovereignty.* But with all its excess, it no way neutralizes what he did accomplish; and if it required determined followers to carry out his beginnings to their issue, still is it true that Hildebrand did the work, and virtually secured the full Papal dominion. Through him, as we have seen, the German lord-protector was exchanged for the Norman vassal-protector. And, although the dispute in regard to Episcopal appointments, after continuing for another 37 years, ended in a compromise by which the imperial honour was salved, yet was the victory left with Rome.† For in the hands of the Pope remained ring and crosier; and though the nomination was to come from the *Chapters*, yet were those really under Papal control. And thus the circumstance that the nomination, so hemmed in, behind and before, had to take place in the presence of Imperial Commissioners, was really nothing but a ceremony. One thing, indeed, of much importance in itself, was left to the Emperor; namely, the right of *investing into the temporalities*, on which occasion there was presented to him by the Bishop elect a sceptre, in token of fealty sworn. But then this was done by the

* "It was the very suddenness and boldness of his policy that secured the ultimate triumph of his cause, awing men's minds, and making that seem realized, which had been till then a vague theory."—BRYCE, p. 161.

† "The Concordat of Worms, concluded in 1122, was in form a compromise, designed to spare either party the humiliation of defeat. Yet the Papacy remained master of the field."—BRYCE, p. 163.

To the same purpose Mr. HALLAM writes (p. 361), "As there have been battles in which, though immediate success may seem pretty equally balanced, yet we learn from subsequent effects to whom the intrinsic advantages of victory belonged, so is it manifest from the events that followed the settlement of this great controversy about investitures, *that the See of Rome had conquered.*"

Churchman, under the reservation of "*saving his order*;" and how much that meant will appear from the fact that his obedience had been already sworn to the Pope.*

"Thus in effect"—as a very sober and able writer says in his account of Hildebrand—"the Western Empire, of which the foundations were *really* laid at the coronation of Charlemagne, was not the temporal dominion at which *the Prince* aspired, and which so soon passed away from his sceptre, but that spiritual despotism affected by *the Priest*, and which was much more extensive, as it was much more durable."—WADDINGTON, p. 283.

Is it a false vision, then, if we profess to see here the real outshining of the Sun of Roman Sovereignty? Clouds may still rise, but the eclipse is gone. The dust and smoke of battle may dim it, but the Sun is there. Rome is Rome again—governed from and for herself—and marvellously succeeding, by whatever means, in imposing her rule upon the nations.† Her spell, as of old, is upon them; and where they might, and naturally would, resist—still are they constrained somehow irresistibly to submit.

It is true that some time had to elapse before the *noonday* of this new dominion came round. We are

* HALLAM, p. 361. See also a good account of the same in *Rome*, by Canon TREVOR, p. 194.

† See an interesting passage in GIBBON, vol. xii. p. 260: "Of her two sovereigns, the emperor had precariously reigned by the right of conquest. . . . The vicar of Christ was freely chosen by the College of Cardinals. . . . The applause of the magistrates and people confirmed his election; and the ecclesiastical power that was obeyed in Sweden and Britain had been ultimately derived from the suffrage of the Romans. The same suffrage gave a prince, as well as a pontiff, to the capital," &c.

pleading now only for a full morning sun. "The noonday of Papal dominion"—as expressed by one whom all will listen to—"extends from the Pontificate of Innocent III., inclusively, to that of Boniface VIII. ; or, in other words, through the 13th century. Rome inspired during this age all the terror of her ancient name. She was once more the mistress of the world, and kings were her vassals." (HALLAM, ch. vii.) Thus it was only in accordance with the assumed relationship of the Apostolic and Royal offices, when Gregory, in writing to our William I., likened the one to the Sun, and the other to the Moon. (Dr. BRYCE, p. 160.)

And if thus, in the withdrawal of the eclipsing body, the Roman Sun has again shone fully out, we can have no difficulty in finding its complement of celestial companions. That "College, or Senate, of Cardinals, set up in the time of Nicolas II., and which, in 1059, became a body of electors," will amply suffice for the functions of a *Moon*. "Through the Legations, and their share in the administration of what had become an unlimited sovereignty, the Cardinals rapidly rose to a height from which they looked down on the Bishops. By degrees, it came to this that Bishops could only venture to speak to Cardinals on their knees, and were treated by them as servants." (JANUS, p. 205.) So much for the *second* of the two Powers. And then, as for governmental *Stars*, where shall we find in all history a more imposing array than in that host of bishops indissolubly linked with Roman greatness? There was just one great Roman department of which no promise of restoration had been

given—"All green grass was burnt up." Even so, under the *new Roman dominion*, the *Populus Romanus*—which, under however mongrel a form, had been so eagerly striving to assert itself—is nowhere. Pope, Cardinals, and Bishops—these are the ruling powers of the Papacy. The people no doubt have their value; but it is as Gibeonites, to supply with wood and water their priestly lords. The *Curia*, too, is a matter of some moment in Roman affairs. It presents, we suppose, the most striking example of official management in the world. It is perhaps the busiest of chancery courts, and the most earnest of tax-rating establishments. It may even, at times, be master, with Pope himself and Cardinals for servants. All this, for aught we know, may be true. Still is the work of the *Curia* mere office-work, and often, possibly, underground work too. Money may have more place in Rome than the devout would suspect, and the *Curia* may do some service among the brokers and bankers of the Vatican. But such an establishment, however vast and influential—all important, it may be, for supplying the sinews of war, and all powerful in pulling the wires of the vast machine—is yet not of a governmental character—and cannot therefore correspond to one of the celestial lights, whether in ordinary speech, Scripture symbolism, or Roman history.*

Another thing still behoved to fall out, if the trumpet prophecy was to be fulfilled. The kingdom to be restored in its governing powers was not the kingdom of God, but of Rome. And yet was it not the Christian Church itself

* See on the *Curia*, JANUS, pp. 215-223.

that we have seen become so mighty? Was it not his very zeal for that which led Hildebrand into such extraordinary, and even extravagant courses? Our answer is, All that was *peculiar in Hildebrand's system*—all that was, properly speaking, of his making—whatever it might be, was not *Christianity*;—as good, or better if you will, but not *Christianity*;—something if you choose, and are not startled at the idea, into which the New Testament system developed itself, but not *Christianity*. The two things are before us; they can be compared as easily as any other two things, such as gold and iron, or Mosaism and Brahminism. “The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them; *but it shall not be so among you*”—so had Christ taught the first founders and rulers of His Church; and they had received and practised the injunction—apart from which, indeed, there had been no Christian Church at all. But now if the Papalism of Gregory VII. has any meaning, it is this, that the Hildebrandian excludes himself outright from the company of that *you*, and sets up in the grossest conceivable form the anti-Christian principle—“*But so it shall be among us.*” Hildebrand has put himself under another master, and has taken his lessons from another gospel—known to us as *The False Decretals*—and the result is that *he* is the real Master, with full dominion over all Christian people, yes, and over all their Prelates, and all their Princes too. It is easy to say that *his* was not ambition in the vulgar sense of the word—that, while he sought power, he *sought* it not for himself, but for the Church. To this

we answer that we have nothing to do now with the *motive*, nor even with the *man*, but with the *action* and the *system* only. Suppose, if you can, that Hildebrand, in his own heart, sincerely and supremely aimed at truly Christian ends, yet does the fact remain that what he did was as like as possible to what our Lord had *refused to do*—with a “Get thee behind me, Satan.” His motive would have mattered little—even though it had been to obtain a scaffolding for His kingdom in a wicked world—if only he had accepted the offer, or any portion of it, “All these will I give Thee.”

Or we may be told, It was really the best thing for the age after all; nothing short of the Papalism of that day was fitted to curb its violence and tame its rudeness—to save, in short, the civilization and religion of Europe amid the all-devouring savagery of the times. We may even be told that such a development was both unavoidable in itself and necessary as the only means of a reaction towards something better. The Church must undergo an education in legalism before it could enjoy the liberty of the gospel. Before Canaan comes Egypt and the wilderness; before Jerusalem Sinai. Now this may be philosophy, this wonderful combination of necessity, development, reaction; but, be it what it may, it does not touch the notorious fact that—*Hildebrandism is not Christianity*. Might it not equally well be argued that Pharisaic traditionalism, with all its arrogance on the one hand, and bondage on the other, was really a good and most religious thing, as the best possible preparation for the gospel—a Mosaic development of the utmost value in its worst absurdities, as the

more certain on that account to provoke a wholesome reaction? For, what with heathenism and idolatry, Greek philosophies, Roman Caesarism, and universal corruption, threatening to engulf the peculiar people—this form of Judaism was just the thing wanted to keep them firm to their principles, separate from the nations, and ripe for the kingdom of God. For *our* happier times, indeed, it would not suit; but for those times it was the best that could be. All honour therefore to its originators and promoters; and as none can deny their ability, so let none disparage their motives. The rabbis might, indeed, court something perilously near to worship; but thus were the people saved from worse, and prepared for better. Be it so, we repeat, this may be very good as *the philosophy of religion*; enough for us that our Lord knew nothing of it all, and that to the rabbinic Papalism of *His* day, enemy of divine truth and godly loyalty, as he found it, he had nothing better to offer than an unmingled scorn and condemnation. If in this there be no index to the right Christian treatment of Hildebrandism, then we confess to our mistake.

And now, in conclusion, whatever the designed relation between the Fourth Trumpet and the facts adduced in our attempted illustration of it—we can say this, that if a history of Rome for these six centuries had to be written, we know not where a motto more suitable for the work could be found than just in the language of the Trumpet itself. For if it seemed that the Roman sun came under some eclipsing power, when the last emperor was consigned to a private life in a Campanian villa—it now seems as if all that power were spent, when we find the Roman ruler

of the day conduct himself with such lordliness in the castle of Canossa.

NOTE TO CHAPTER XV.

Gregory's claim to various European kingdoms.—Nothing can better show the spirit of the man than this. We take the facts from BOWER, vol. v. pp. 304-307. And as the evidence for them is derived entirely from Gregory's own letters, there can be no question as to its validity.

Spain.—Hearing that a certain Count Evulus was seeking to recover the country from the Moors, he sent to him to intimate that it had belonged to St. Peter before it was conquered by them—and declaring at the same time his readiness to grant any portion of it to any Christian Prince who would take it from the Moors, and “hold it of St. Peter and his See; otherwise he would rather see it remain under the yoke of the infidels.”

France.—He claimed this on the ground that, by a statute of Charlemagne, “lodged in the archives of the church of St. Peter” (which yet no one ever saw), each house in the kingdom had paid a due of at least a penny a year to Peter.

Hungary.—King Solomon, having been driven from his kingdom by his cousin Geisa, was restored by the Emperor, on condition of “holding of him as feudatory.” Upon this Gregory writes, informing him that he had given away what was not his to give—for that Hungary, by the grant of king Stephen, was the property of Peter and the Holy Roman Church; and that he may expect to “feel the effect of the Apostle's just indignation,” if he does not restore it. Solomon, after this, was driven out by Geisa again—which, of course, was the judgment denounced by Gregory—and *Geisa now consented to hold the kingdom of the Pope!*

Corsica and Sardinia.—He claims these in the same terms as he had done Spain, and “threatens to let loose the Normans, the Tuscans, the Lombards, and with them the Ultramontane nations, against the natives (at least of Corsica) if they would not own St. Peter for their sovereign.”

Dalmatia.—He makes Duke Demetrius king, on condition of his swearing allegiance to him and his successors. The Pope's legate then delivered to him a standard, sword, sceptre, and diadem—the new king promising to pay yearly, on Easter-day, to the Pope two hundred pieces of silver, and engaging for all the service of a vassal.

Denmark.—From Gregory's letters it would be supposed that Sueno had made a similar agreement, though nothing more is known of it. And to him Gregory offers "a Province in Italy, now possessed by heretics"—to be had on the usual terms, that is, of taking it, and making it over to Rome.

Saxony.—The claim here was that the whole had been given by Charlemagne to Peter immediately on his conquest of it—a gift now heard of for the first time.

Poland.—The people, from the time of their conversion, had been in the habit of sending to Rome a yearly present of a hundred marks of silver—and this Gregory now exacts as a tribute due to the Pope as sovereign lord.

England.—Gregory wrote to William I. (1079) requiring of him an oath of fealty—seeing that his kingdom belonged to Peter—and compelling the non-payment for three years of the usual Peter's-pence. In regard to the first demand, the king showed a natural surprise and indignation; as for the second, the neglect had arisen from his absence in France, but should now be remedied. This took place in the course of that correspondence in which Gregory had compared himself and the Conqueror to Sun and Moon respectively. Now it is true that already had the Pope granted authority to the Duke of Normandy to seize the kingdom of Harold. But that was fourteen years ago; and neither the Duke, nor yet the Pope of the day, had entered into the wonderful significance of that authorization. But Gregory, not Alexander II., was Pope now. And—quoting once more a writer than whom none has better understood the Papacy—"It has not perhaps been sufficiently observed that Gregory VII. is, in fact, the only one of all the Popes, who set himself with clear and deliberate purpose to introduce a new constitution of the Church, and by new means. He regarded himself, not merely as the reformer of the Church, but as the divinely commissioned founder of a wholly new order of things, fond as he was of appealing to his predecessors. Nicolas I. alone approaches him in this, but none of the latter Popes, all of whom, even the boldest, have but filled in the outline he sketched."—JANUS, p. 101.

CHAPTER XVI.

FIFTH TRUMPET.

Symbols.

REVELATION ix. 1-12.

THIS Trumpet is a 'woe,' the first of the three already announced. (viii. 13.) That is to say, it is an evil which may properly be so designated, even in comparison with the four judgments which have preceded. Each of these woes is "to the inhabitants of the *Earth*"—a region which, thus standing in immediate connection with that of the foregoing Trumpets, and with no trace of its being different, can hardly be other than the same.

"*The fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fallen from heaven to the earth.*" This must refer to some event in the political world—really answering, both in quality and importance, to the prophetic picture. Some conspicuous ruler has been precipitated from his high place, and is now presented to the eye of the seer in his fallen condition. Such a fall may have arisen from abdication, deposition, or death. Already we have had a remarkable instance of a similar event in the Third Trumpet—with this difference that, while *there* the star appeared *falling*,

here it is seen as *fallen*. But a still closer parallel is to be found in the great Babylonian star as depicted by *Isaiah*. (Chap. xiv.) For that not only falls *from heaven*, but to *Hades*—while the Apocalyptic star, though it has, as a matter of course, fallen first to the earth, still, like its great prototype, makes its way to the nether world, where its peculiar action takes place.*

"To him was given the key of the bottomless pit, and he opened the bottomless pit."

Now this, of course, was not really a matter for *any* human hand, living or dead. It is simply a representation in vision of a very terrible act, with its results, as performed by an individual man; the design plainly being to intimate that something really equivalent to this opening of the infernal pit speedily followed the fall to the earth of the brilliant star—and that too, as a distinct moral sequence. There must, of course, have been a Divine interposition in the matter, and there would certainly be a determined Satanic agency. But if these were called forth by the event indicated, and the circumstances connected with it, then the most effectual way of setting in the truest light that event and those circumstances, was to commit the key and opening of the pit to the once brilliant, but now fallen, star.

* Alford strangely agrees with those who have taken the star for *Satan*—supposing that *he* also is the *star* in Isa. xiv. 12—and supporting the view by Luke x. 18, Rev. xii. 9, where *Satan* indeed is spoken of, but no *star*—while, at the same time, he ignores the *star* in chap. viii. 10. Hengstenberg well argues against this notion, but, of course, *idealizes* the star as representing the *world-ruler*—"the last great embodiment of this being in Napoleon!"

"And there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace."

We can even now see it rushing out of the pit's opened mouth, and rolling about in its black wreaths—spreading all round, and mounting up till it meets the dazzling blaze from the upper fountain, and bids it retire. We can think too of all the dark elements of confusion at work in that horrid furnace, and the hands that are engaged in feeding and fanning it; and thus we can the better realize what will be the operation of that smoke when it leaves the pit, and reaches the terrestrial region.

"And the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit."

The sun; that naturally, and in this Apocalypse very distinctly, points, as in the Fourth Trumpet and Vial, to the chief ruling power of the territory referred to.* This, then, was darkened; that is to say, its influence and

* There are, we need hardly say, various cases of the use of 'sun' in prophetic language, where no such *definite object* is in view; but then, as may be observed, neither has the language in these cases any such *definite* character. Of this class we may take Joel ii. 31 as a good example—Calvin's remarks on which we can heartily accept. "By saying that the sun shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood, he means that the Lord will give signs of His anger throughout the whole frame of the world, which will exanimate men with terror, as if the overturn of all nature were to be dreaded. For as the sun and moon are witnesses of His paternal favour towards us, whilst in turn they supply the earth with light, so, on the contrary, says the prophet, they shall be messengers of an angry God. By the darkness of the sun, by the bloody deflection of the moon, by the black vapour of smoke, the prophet would express that, wherever men turn their eyes, everywhere, above and below, many things will appear to strike them with terror. It is, in fact, the same as if he had said that things had been in such a wretched case in the world, that never had there appeared so many and direful tokens of divine wrath."

authority were, during the Trumpet action, neutralized, or greatly impaired. A sun there was, but it had scanty power; little, it may be, beyond being, was left to it. "*And the air.*" The addition of this is plainly significant; for, in the absence of some special *reason*, it would naturally have been assumed as a thing involved in the other.

Now as to the meaning of this expression, we get little help from its employment as a Scripture symbol—there being perhaps no other instance of such usage, except in the Seventh Vial (xvi. 8;) and there we find it in no connection with darkening—a circumstance which almost precludes any comparison of the two cases. Thus we are thrown upon the natural sense of the expression, together with the connection in the case before us; the result being that the darkening of the air, in addition to that of the sun, can only mean the darkening of all around, or thick darkness everywhere, a darkness like Egypt's, which might be felt. And thus, if the sun points to the imperial authority, the air will, by this plain necessity of sense and connection, point to society in general.

As to the *smoke*, we can only think of it as the means of impairing the royal authority, on the one hand, and confusing and stupefying society, on the other, and thus in the face of duties and dangers the most urgent. Besides this, we have to remember *where* the smoke issues from. "The prince of the power of the air" is the chief in the matter. "The rulers of the darkness of this world" presiding over the scene.

"*And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth.*"

Now here is something remarkable indeed. The invariable order is for the darkness to come from the locusts ; but in this case the darkness precedes, and the locusts come out of *it* (cf. Joel ii. 10)—the smoke proving, if not their birthplace, yet a powerful incentive to new activity. In other words, the *rule* is for the locusts to occasion darkness, but here the darkness is the occasion for the issuing forth of the locusts. But although, according to the regular order, there is no darkness before the locusts, it does not follow that, in the present case, there were no locusts before the darkness. The reasonable view would rather be that there were. For, while darkness would not produce locusts, as locusts do darkness, yet the *smoke that caused the darkness* would naturally drive the locusts forward—at the same time irritating, and so inciting them to some change of action. All which, it may be seen, is in exact accordance with the symbolic picture. First, came the smoke with its darkening influence—and out of it the locusts *—acting precisely like creatures goaded on to some peculiar violence. For their work, in its more definite features—the more general *locust* operations being always assumed—is chiefly a work of annoyance and torment.

The first thing, then, that is specified is what they were *not* to do.

* The following is a slight circumstance, but not unworthy perhaps of being quoted as an illustration of locusts *coming out of* smoke. A black cloud had come over a vessel 200 miles from the Canary Islands, and “there fell from the cloud an innumerable quantity of large grasshoppers, so as to cover the decks, the tops, and every part of the ship they could alight upon.”—KIRBY and SPENCE, *Entomology*, p. 130.

"It was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, nor any tree." Their work, that is to say, was to differ widely from that of ordinary locusts—so much so indeed, that, instead of claiming, they would both repudiate the character themselves, and be regarded by others as of quite another family. And yet, however different their sphere of action, so manifest to the Omniscient One would be their real propensities, that, as locusts of the most determined kind, they should present themselves to His eye.

But there is more than this implied in the representation. If 'grass' and 'trees' referred to *classes* of society before (chap. vii. 3; viii. 7), we may reasonably conclude that they will do the same now. And thus the view will be that the commission of the locusts is no more against *classes* of men—as was so notoriously the case with the fiery hail in the First Trumpet—but against *character* now. They were to "*hurt only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads.*" All ordinary vegetation—and consequently whatever that would have symbolized—is expressly excepted from the attack. So the true Church of God is equally exempted. But the men who, living in the region, and during a certain portion of the time, of the sealed company, were yet themselves unsealed—these, high or low, were to form the objects on which the locusts would so indiscriminately and unsparingly prey, the body which they would so unmercifully torment.* That they would thus go about to injure, by appropriating to them-

* The style is precisely the same as if we should say—The beggars pursued neither high nor low, but only the tender-hearted.

selves the substance of others, is, of course, the first and principal idea suggested. That they would combine torture with their ravages is more explicitly related, because not, like the other, necessarily implied in the locust symbol.

Other properties characteristic of the locust are these—"They have no king, yet go they forth all of them by bands." (Prov. xxx. 27.)* Thus we must look for a party at once numerous, and bound together by strong ties of fraternity, while yet, *as locusts*, they own no common head or leader. This last circumstance is in the present case strikingly brought out by the notice which so completely negatives all *human* headship—"They have a king over them, the angel of the bottomless pit—*Apollyon*." And this brings out, with all possible distinctness, the *origin* at once of the smoke, the darkness, and the locusts.

"To them was given power as the scorpions of the earth have power; and they have tails like unto scorpions, and their power was in their tails. And to them it was given that they should not kill men,† but that they should be tormented five months; and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion when he striketh a man."

Thus with great intensity of phrase are we taught that, together with the destroying of men's substance, there

* It has been made a question, whether or not, like bees and ants, locusts have an internal government. See the point argued by Kirby and Spence (*Entom.* p. 299)—the conclusion being that locusts have no natural leader, but that "their instinct impels them to follow the first that takes flight or alights."

† See on v. 6, below.

should be inflicted extreme suffering on the owners themselves.

"The sting of the scorpion, though not of itself fatal, is attended with excruciating pain. The most remarkable circumstance in the formation of the animal is the sac in which the tail ends, and the sharp sting to serve as a guide to the poison laid up in the sac."*

We need not be astonished if the symbolic locusts, when discovered, shall display an equally remarkable and recondite aptitude for their work of torment. Still it will be observed that the *locust* character is the chief thing in the picture—the scorpion sting being merely an adjunct. And not only so, but the 'torment' comes indirectly by some covert or underhand means. For this must always be implied when the *tail* is made the instrument. Locusts and war-chariots make a straightforward attack. Scorpions must strike backwards to hurt with their tails.

"*The shapes of the locusts were like horses prepared unto battle;*" an illustration of which we find in Jer. iv. 27, "Appoint a captain over her; cause the horses to come up as the rough caterpillars."

"It is a species of locust thickly studded with spines that is referred to. The allusion is to the ancient accoutrement of war horses bristling with sheaves of arrows."†

A formidable object truly; 'None may trouble me with impunity,' seems its meaning. Touch it where you will, you can hardly escape unwounded. Such, and, that too,

* KITTO, *Pict. Bible*, ad loc.

† KITTO, *Biblical Cycl.*—"Locust."

combined with the spirit of the war-horse, was to be the character of the symbolic locust. (*Cf.* Joel ii. 4.)

While thus formidable as the war-horse, the locusts were to be imperious as the most princely personage. "*On their heads were, as it were, crowns of gold.*" Thus should they exercise, or at least assume, an authority akin to that of royalty itself.

Does this then, we must here ask, imply a promiscuous multitude, or a select company of persons—a mob, or an aristocracy? In reading of a locust invasion, we naturally, of course, assume a multitude altogether indefinite. But then the present locusts differ in so many things from the ordinary sort that we need not wonder if they differ in respect to number also. And it is a very noticeable circumstance that, while nothing is ascribed to them which really involves the customary multitude—as *e.g.* that the sun was darkened, or the face of the earth covered—we have, on the other hand, in the crowns of gold, something which seems rather to point to a limitation of their number. And this is the more significant, because, in that passage of Joel from which so much in the present case is taken, we find the very features that are here omitted made so prominent, just as in ordinary narratives. (Chap. ii. 2, 3, 10.)

"*And their faces were as the faces of men.*" However notorious the individuals in question, for their avarice, arrogance, violence, cruelty, they would be remarkable for another quality not always combined with these—namely, that of a high intelligence. (*Cf.* Daniel vii. 8.)

"*And they had hair as the hair of women.*" This

language, explained by Scripture usage, can have only one meaning. Woman's hair is the token of subjection to authority. (1 Cor. xi. ; Num. vi. 5 ; Deut. xxi. 12.)*

Strange combination,† it must be confessed—the symbol of regal authority, and yet the token of humble submissiveness! Nor is the apparent incongruity modified by what follows—“*Their teeth were as the teeth of lions.*” Locusts with lions' teeth, as well as scorpion stings!—it must be an uncommon degree of energy in the infliction of evil that is thus depicted. The locust devours men's property, without pity or partiality. The lion and scorpion attack the men themselves. The locusts of the woe will do both. Still the lions' teeth and scorpions' stings are only subservient to the locust work. The real foe is locust after all.

* The Nazarite's hair certainly indicates *consecration*, and that means entire subjection. So in Deut. xxi. 12, when the woman ‘shaves her head,’ she is putting off her old subjection to the men of her own country.

† The combination of points in the literal locust is remarkable enough, and shows how suitable an object it was for such detailed symbolism. We quote the following from Kitto, *Pict. Bible* on Joel, chap. ii.—“Niebuhr says that he heard from a Bedouin, near Bussorah, a particular comparison of the locust to other animals ; but as this passage of Scripture (Rev. ix.) did not occur to him at the time, he thought it a mere fancy of the Arab's, till he heard it repeated at Bagdad. He compared the head of the locust to that of a horse, the breast to that of a lion, the feet to those of a camel, the belly with that of a serpent, the tail with that of a scorpion, and the feelers (if Niebuhr remembered rightly) to the hair of a virgin.”

As to the symbol ‘crown,’ we may mention that one of the Hebrew terms for ‘locust’ (*chagab*) is supposed to be the ‘*gryllus coronatus*,’ Linn. The best illustration of the reference to ‘horse’ is that the Italians call it ‘*cavaletta* ;’ and Ray says, ‘*Caput oblongum, equi instar prona spectans*’ (SMITH, *Dict. of Bible*—“Locust.”) Now whatever the actual resemblance in any one point may be, we cannot overlook the connection between the fact that such comparisons are made, and the employment here of the various features as symbols.

"And they had breastplates, as it were breastplates of iron." Furnished with every possible weapon of offence, they are equally provided with the means of defence against their assailants; for opposition they would certainly provoke by their own multifarious assaults.

"And the sound of their wings was as the sound of harnessed chariots of many horses running to battle"—(cf. Joel ii. 5)*—so rapid, so terrible, so combined and well ordered, would be their movements. Nothing in ancient warfare was more formidable than the war-chariot. Sisera had nine hundred of them. Darius looked to them for the rushing of Alexander. And in such style would these locusts make war upon the unsealed multitude of their time and region. Wonderful indeed that, while thus assembling objects expressly designed for the work of killing—the war-horse and war-chariot—the locusts should thus expressly be shut out from killing work themselves.

"Their power was to hurt men five months." If we could believe that these months were meant to consist of 150 year-days, so called, then the view that we have to

* As to the noise of locust-movements, Volney says, "The noise they make in browsing on the herbage may be heard to a great distance, and resembles that of an army foraging in secret." (KITTO, *Pict. Bible*.) Volney writes of them—

"Onward they came, a dark continuous cloud
Of congregated myriads numberless,
The rushing of whose wings was as the sound
Of a broad river headlong in its course
Plunged from a mountain summit, or the roar
Of a wild ocean in the autumn storm,
Shattering its billows on a shore of rocks!"

—See KIRBY and SPENCE, p. 129.

give of the locust woe would meet the demand with remarkable exactness. This, however, we cannot believe, and are therefore shut up to a more general interpretation of the symbol. Yet such is by no means easy to determine. If it were the fact, as sometimes asserted, that the term of five months is the usual period of locust action, then a circumstance so appropriate might easily be translated into a suitable moral sense.* But instead of this being the case, we find that such ravages may last from the very shortest period up to much beyond five months. Thus we find that, when locusts visit Morocco, "they stay from three to seven years." Their stay, in short, must depend, in the first place, on the character of the country, and then upon the absence of undue disturbance. For, if within reach of the sea, a storm may at any time sweep them into it.† Thus it seems that we can only take 'month' as a sort of medium period betwixt day and year—the shortest and longest of ordinary time-measures respectively.‡ And when, together with this, we take into account the very close analogy, as already noticed, between the Trumpet view and the literal locust, we may well set it down that the term of five months is at once a very lengthened period, and yet far from what it might have

* Alford accepts the view of the *five months* as having respect "to the ordinary time in the year during which locusts commit their ravages," mentioning the names of several who so regard it. Hengstenberg says, and we believe more truly, "The five months of the existence of the natural locust have no place in natural history;" and he pleads for "the signature of the half, the incomplete, the broken ten—a very long period, still not the longest."

† KIRBY and SPENCE, p. 128.

‡ For the use of 'day' see Zech. iii. 9.

been ; while, by the cutting short of the symbolic *ten* in the middle, it would seem as if some great fact had intervened to put an end to the locust designs when only half fulfilled—it being the object of the great Controller that the first woe should, after a comparatively moderate time, give place to the still more terrible and lasting one that was to follow.

We may add here the Scripture analogies that suggest themselves, few though they be. Thus, in regard to ‘month,’ we have the expression—“Now shall a *month* devour you and your portions” (Hos. v. 7)—which must mean, that within such a period, the enemy referred to would thoroughly effect his destroying work*—a short time, in one point of view, and yet longer than would have been required for some other judgments. Thus David had been offered his choice between seven *years* of famine, three *months* of invasion, and three *days* of pestilence.

Again, there is the case in which the prophet, personating the great Shepherd—and him too as acting in a highly dramatic style—says, “The three shepherds also I cut off in *one month*.” That is to say, the work of trying and judging the entire circle of Jewish teachers and rulers was accomplished, with complete deliberation and precision on the one hand, and with astonishing rapidity on the other. (Zech. xi. 8 ; *cf.* Isa. xi. 4.) The time was short for such a work, but long enough for such a worker. So

* We are reminded here of the expressive words of Napoleon to the Austrian plenipotentiaries at Campo Formio, as he dashed a porcelain jar to atoms at his feet—“In one month your monarchy would have been shattered like that vase.”

much for the idea of *one month*. Need we say that *such* a term must always be taken relatively to the work in hand? And this being so, we have to estimate the *relative* measure of the period assigned for the locust woe.*

Then as regards the significance of the divided *ten*—we have a parallel furnished by the divided *seven*—the sign of the covenant and completeness—in “the three times and a half,” which must point, whatever the more special reference, to some pretended half of reality. (Dan. vii. 25.) Add to this the view of 666 in Rev. xiii. 18, as expressive of a similar breakdown in relation to the sign-number of the true Israel.

“*In these days shall men seek death, and shall not find it, and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them.*” Now in regard to the killing spoken of in verse 5, we are far from assuming that it is simply tantamount to the taking away of bodily life. It seems as if the Apocalyptic style rather required us, in some cases, to take ‘killing’ as equivalent to civil or social extinction, however effected—including, of course, the most notorious form of this; namely, the violent taking away of bodily life. But while truth requires such an admission, it is at the same time plain enough that *the death* which is here so agonizingly sought after (v. 6) can be no other than that in its most natural form; and for the simple reason that the terms of

* In illustration of this principle the expression in Ezek. xxxix. 12 is important: “*Seven months* shall the house of Israel be burying of them, that they may cleanse the land.” Now this, *relatively to such a work*, is a *very long* period; while, at the same time, it denotes *completeness*, and in this connection *sacredness* also. The case may be taken as a *contra-* to our passage.

the description before us, as practically employed in human speech, are restricted to this view of the matter.

But now, in the absence of any direct killing, there is presented to us in the words just cited a very terrible characteristic of the locust period, involving an extraordinary degree of misery, restlessness, and despair. It is neither stated, nor implied, indeed, that this peculiar unhappiness should entirely and directly accrue from the locust and scorpion action; it being simply said, "*In those days,*" &c.

And, in fact, when we take into account that the injury arising from scorpions is not of itself incurable, nor such as would naturally drive to desperation, it is only reasonable to suppose that the agony spoken of has other causes besides those actually named. At the same time, we must hold it to be distinctly implied that there is a close connection betwixt the locust injuries and the misery so vividly depicted—else why introduce into the picture of the locusts such a view of the wretchedness of the times? Less than such connection we must not accept of, and more we are not entitled to demand in the interest of fair interpretation.*

* The picture of misery thus presented vividly suggests the terms in which Moses foretells the anguish of his people in the lands of their dispersion. (Deut. xxviii. 65-67.)

CHAPTER XVII.

GENERAL REFERENCE OF THE FIFTH TRUMPET.

OUR first help in seeking for this must come from the position of the Trumpet in the series. For, according to the uniform analogy, both of Daniel's four Beasts and the previous four Trumpets, it should have its commencement *during the course* of its immediate predecessor. Then without unduly anticipating the design of the Sixth Trumpet—we cannot but return to our assumption, that “the great river Euphrates” points to the great city through which it ran, and that Babylon means Rome; the irruption of the horsemen myriads symbolizing, in its development, that new dominion which we have already traced up to its true commencement in the outshining sun. Hence the locust woe will be something intermediate between the first stage of the Roman eclipse, and the high-day of Papal power. How far the horsemen stand related to the horse-like locusts, we may not now inquire. But there are some striking facts of a general kind, to which we cannot shut our eyes, even at the outset, as essentially distinguishing the period to which we are so clearly pointed.

Thus if we seek for a counterpart to a notable star as

fallen, with the smoke and darkness that ensued, we have it, to the very life, in the state of things consequent upon the death of Charlemagne, the greatest of all stars belonging to that epoch. As for the *confusion* that followed this event, and as a result too, it is by far the most notorious thing that the history of the period has to record. As for *darkness*, it is 'the dark ages' that we are then introduced to. And who were the most prominent actors on that stage of confusion and darkness? History will again tell us. They were the superior clergy of the day, whom Charlemagne had at once indulged and restrained, but who after his death could be restrained no longer, and whose whole course was as like, as can be imagined, to that of the locusts in the picture. Whether their action was sufficiently evil and extensive to constitute a 'woe,' and whether the distress of the times comes up to the language of the Trumpet, we shall see presently. Meanwhile we quote some historical statements in regard to the general character of those times, as compared with the succeeding, from writers of the highest order, and unbiassed certainly by any prophetic prejudices.

"Each period of the advance of Christianity," says Schroeckh, "is so distinguished by its peculiar spirit and course that it may be called *unique in its kind*." Reckoning the third period from the death of Charlemagne (814) to the Reformation (1517), he thus divides and describes it—"It is the most prominent feature of this period that religion now depends entirely upon the will, the ambition, and the selfishness of the clergy; and that a Christian Bishop, in the name of religion, raises a monarchy which casts to the ground all that stands in its way, or which might restore to Christians their lost conscience freedom."—*Kirchengeschichte*, vol. xxi. p. 5.

"On a review of this short narrative," says another writer, "we per-

ceive that the Prelates of the ninth century asserted, for the first time, claims of temporal authority—that such claims were asserted by national assemblies even more daringly than by the Popes [that is to say, of that day]—and that they were so immoderate as to be inconsistent with the necessary rights of princes, and the vigour and stability of civil government.”

“During this period the Popes became so much embarrassed by domestic inquietude and disorder, that they had little leisure to extend their conquests abroad; and thus, for above a century, the thunders of the Vatican murmured with extreme faintness, or altogether slept. But the principle of ecclesiastical supremacy, and the disposition to submit to it, were not extinguished in the tumults of the tenth age; and the storm, when it again broke forth, seemed even to have gained strength from the sullen repose which preceded it.”

Again, “In recording some instances of the temporal interference of the Church, we have remarked the success of Episcopal, as distinct from Papal presumption, and observed the independence, as well as the force, with which the councils of Bishops acted against the secular powers. The ninth has been *peculiarly characterized as the age of Bishops*.”—WADDINGTON, *Church History*, pp. 248-250.

“These passages,” says Mr. Hallam, after alluding to events which we shall presently notice, “are very remarkable, and afford a decisive proof that the power obtained by national churches, through the superstitious prejudices then received, and a train of favourable circumstances, was as dangerous to civil government as the subsequent usurpations of the Roman Pontiff, *against which Protestant writers are apt too exclusively to direct their animadversions*. Voltaire, I think, has remarked that the ninth century was the age of the Bishops, as the eleventh and twelfth were of the Popes. It seemed as if Europe was about to pass under an absolute a dominion of the hierarchy as had been exercised by the priesthood of ancient Egypt, or the Druids of Gaul. . . . But while the Prelates of these nations, each within his respective sphere, were prosecuting their system of encroachment upon the laity, a new scheme was secretly forming within the bosom of the Church, to enthral both the and the temporal governments of the world, *under an ecclesiastical monarch*.”—HALLAM's *History of the Middle Ages*, ch. vii.

“The Episcopal aristocracy,” says M. Michelet, “had broken down the attempt to organize the Carlovingian world; it now behoved the impotent aristocracy to humble itself, to learn the lessons of subordination, to submit to the gradations of the hierarchy, and to be *transmuted into the Pontifical monarchy in order to become efficacious*. That be-

done, we shall see the invisible unity of intellect, real unity, that of mind and will, reappearing in the midst of material dispersion. Then will the feudal world contain under the appearance of chaos a real and potent harmony."—*Hist. France*, Kelly's Transl. p. 257.

Thus was a certain period in Europe characterised, and thus was it succeeded. So far, there is in the whole something strangely suggestive of locust bands going forth under the eclipse of the Roman sun—checked, as that sun regains its power—till at last subdued and enlisted in his service by the autocrat of the new Babylon. It seemed—so we have just read—as if Europe were passing under the dominion of its insolent *hierarchy*, while all the time a scheme was forming, which proved strangely successful, to bring both Church and world under the power of an ecclesiastical *monarch*. Such is the notorious history of the times. And this is what we profess to find in the *Fifth* and *Sixth* Trumpets.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE STAR FALLEN—WITH DARKENING OF SUN AND AIR.

IN the fourteenth year of the first century there fell to the earth a very brilliant star—Augustus, founder of the Roman Empire. In the same year of the ninth century fell another star, worthy of a name beside that one, Charlemagne, the restorer of the Empire. But while the one had raised a fabric to stand for centuries, the other had restored it only to collapse with his own removal.

"It was soon seen that the strength to grasp the sceptre had not passed with it. . . . The nations were not yet ripe for settled life, or extensive schemes of polity; . . . and when once the spell of the great mind was withdrawn, the mutually repellent forces began to work, and the mass dissolved into that chaos out of which it had been formed." (Bayer, pp. 71, 76.) * Or, as another writer has expressed it—"Perhaps his

* We add four lines as quoted by this writer from a contemporary poem on the dissolution of the Carlovingian empire—

"Quid faciant populi quos ingens alluit Hister,
Quos Rhenus Rhodanusque rigant, Ligerisve, Padusve,
Quos omnes dudum tenuit concordia nexos,
Foedere nunc rupto divortia moesta fatigant."

In English—

"What shall the people do, mid whom the Danube great doth flow—
Those watered by the Rhine and Rhone, the Loire and wandering Po!—
All whom in closest bonds so long did holy concord press—
All whom—the league now broken quite—divorces sad distress."

greatest eulogy is written in the disgraces of succeeding times, and the miseries of Europe. He stands alone like a beacon upon a waste, or a rock on the broad ocean. His sceptre was as the bow of Ulysses, which could not be drawn by any weaker hand. In the dark ages of European history, the reign of Charlemagne affords a solitary resting place between two long periods of turbulence and ignominy, deriving the advantages of contrast both from that of the preceding dynasty, and of a posterity for whom he had formed an Empire which they were unworthy and unequal to maintain."—HALLAM'S *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 16.

Of that posterity the first and most respectable was his only surviving son, Louis the Meek (*le Debonair*), whose design seems always to have been to do right, and his lot never to succeed; while the last was Louis *le Fainéant*, the poisoning of whom by his own wife (as is believed) gave the last stroke to the Carolingian dynasty in 987. Under Charles, truly called *the Simple*,* this had indeed nearly come to an end early in the century, but reverence for the name had secured for it an unhappy continuance. Just a century before the passing away of the entire dynasty, the last who reigned over the united Empire was deposed for his utter incapacity, and early in the following year (888) ended his days in a Suabian prison, without a friend, and covered with contempt. This is the one known as Charles *the Fat*. For some thirty years after this last event, Germany still continued under a government nominally Carolingian, till that gave way to the Saxon line, commencing with Henry the Fowler, under whom the country began at last to rise.

Before coming to more specific detail, we put together

* This Charles the *Simple* was son of Louis the *Stutterer*, who "exhausted the kingdom by his prodigalities."—WHITE, *Univ. Hist.*, p. 260.

a few sentences from Dr. Bryce's important work, which may help to give some colour to this bare outline.

"Louis the Meek had reigned for years, when dissensions broke out on all sides." "After passing from one branch of the Carolingian line to another, the *imperial* sceptre was at last possessed and disgraced by Charles the Fat, who united [nearly] all the dominions of his great grandfather." "That time was indeed the nadir of order and civilization. From all sides the torrent of barbarism which Charles the Great had stemmed was rushing down upon his empire." "The grand vision of a universal Christian empire was utterly lost in the isolation, the antagonism, and increasing localization of all powers."

And then, as to the Italy which was always regarded as a part of the Imperial dominion—

"The crown had become a bauble with which unscrupulous Popes dazzled the vanity of princes, whom they summoned to their aid, and soothed the credulity of their more honest supporters. The demoralization and confusion of Italy, the shameless profligacy of Rome and her pontiffs, during this period, were enough to prevent a true Italian kingdom from being built up on the basis of Roman choice and national unity." "In 924 died Berengar, the last of these phantom emperors. After him Hugh of Burgundy, and Lothair his son, reigned as kings of Italy, *if puppets in the hands of a riotous aristocracy can be so called.*" "In such a time of disintegration, confusion, strife, all the longings of every wiser and better soul for unity, peace, and law, . . . were but so many cries for the restoration of the Roman Empire."—pp. 76-84.

But enough, this would lead us beyond our period of the darkened sun.

In regard, then, to this whole period of Charlemagne's successors, does the history of the world, we may ask, furnish any real parallel to it—any case in which the death of a true ruler was followed by ages of such frightful misrule? It might be needful that the vast Empire should be divided; but what need was there that the divisions should be thus distracted? There seems a

fatality, a mystery, here ; and we can only say—it was so. It is a dreary and ghastly story altogether—a wilderness of confusion with no pleasant *oasis* anywhere to rest on. Among the many sad features of the case, we have fathers and sons, brothers and brothers, uncles and nephews, at deadly war with one another*—almost the only energy displayed by any one being in the way of mutual robbery ; and almost the only use made of success being to hand over the acquisition to some new misery. One favourite mode of taking satisfaction on the vanquished seems to have been to put out their eyes†—fit emblem of the darkness in which all were enveloped.

Some, or speaking strictly, one of these Carlovingians, Louis the Germanic, may have risen above the general level ; and may even appear to considerable advantage in some histories.‡ It is with their government, of course,

* Any Encyclopædia will give, under Charles and Louis, ample illustration of this family warfare. In Charles *the Bald* alone, for example, we have a strange collection of these horrors. Thus—having been himself, when six years old, the occasion of the wars of his brothers against their father—he became, when a youth, entangled in their fratricidal struggle, and emerged, when only eighteen, as one of the exhausted victors from the bloody field of Fontenoy. He then gets into a war with his nephew Pepin, who, being taken, is shaved and sent to a convent ; and then, escaping and joining the Normans, is again taken, condemned to death, and shut up in a dungeon for life. In the course of the same war, this Charles puts to death Duke Bernard, his mother's paramour, and his own reputed father. Then follows a war with his own two sons, Louis the Stammerer and Charles, which last died miserably in 866 in consequence of a wound received two years before.—See *Penny Cyclopædia*.

† Thus Louis *the Meek*, of his nephew Bernard ; Charles *the Bald*, of his son Carloman ; and Charles *the Fat*, of Hugues the son of his cousin Lothair II.—*Cyclop.*, as above.

‡ Thus Miller, *Phil. of Hist.*, i. p. 218, says—“ Louis, the first king of Germany (843), has been described by historians in terms of commenda-

and its results, that we have to do. And while, as to an individual ruler, opinion may be divided, there is unhappily no room for question as to the prevailing character of the times.

Such, then, viewed in the most general way, we take as a real darkening of sun and air, by a smoke of confusion that arose and spread abroad, consequently upon the death of Charlemagne.* We are not, of course, to expect any such operation as a sudden and immediate result from that, its chief occasion. This would be contrary to the analogy not only of such visions in general (as *e.g.* Daniel's four Beasts), but of the previous Trumpets, in particular. It is only in the Fourth that we find any exception to this rule, and there we have a peculiarity that accounts for the difference—"the sun was smitten."

In seeking, then, for the first indications of the smoke, we find that as early as the year 817 it had begun to rise and operate. In that year the emperor Louis made a partition of his dominions among his three sons, Lothair,

tion which have not been applied to any other of the descendants of Charlemagne"—then quoting from Henault and Mezeray high commendations of him; and yet, on the other hand, Schmidt, one of the most accurate and trustworthy historians of Germany, "only says of him that *if there was any difference among the sons of Louis the Debonair, he was the best.*" This is the same Louis whom we shall presently find, in alliance with his brothers, at war with their father, and then together with one brother at war with the others. And if such, we are constrained to ask, was the *exception*, what must the *rule* have been?

* "The period immediately subsequent to the reign of Charlemagne was *troubled and gloomy.*"—MENZEL, *Hist. Germany*, vol. i. p. 279.

"What he had sought to tear away from the measureless building of superstition was, soon after his time, bound still closer with the same."—SCHROECKH, vol. xxiii. p. 123.

Louis, and Pepin—associating with himself the first of these in the imperial dignity. His father had done such things, and he, in his simplicity, thought that he might do the same. But Charlemagne knew how to make the imperial princes useful servants. Under his son they became equals, rivals, masters. The step, in short, was one of confusion; and the immediate result was the dimming of the imperial brightness, the undermining of the imperial throne.

Another act, in imitation of his great father, Louis had already ventured on; and that was to promote a reform among the Italian clergy. This, in any circumstances, would have been an offensive step; but in the present case it was peculiarly dangerous. For Charlemagne had left the kingdom of Italy to his grandson Bernard, who—as the only surviving son of Pepin, Louis' eldest brother—was not likely to look pleasantly on the elevation of Lothair. Thus the Italian king and clergy were alike prepared to resist an authority which had become obnoxious to both; and hence a rebellion by the one, with the support of the other,* for the dethroning of Louis and his son. The rebellion was crushed, but its bitter fruit remained. Bernard, condemned to death by the chief council of the Empire, had his sentence commuted, at the instance of Louis, for the loss of his eyes, and died under the operation.

It was not long before Louis began to repent of his severity to his nephew, and also, as he regarded it, to the

* At the head of this movement were the archbishops of Milan and Cremona, to whom some of the chief French dignitaries attached themselves.—GUTHRIE'S *History of the World*, vol. viii. p. 372.

monks Wala and Adelhard, who had joined in the rebellion, though the worst he had done to them was to remand them to their monasteries. And now feeling the need of some solace, he requested, and was permitted, to undergo a public penance. The Empire

*"appeared degraded and disarmed by the act. The first misfortunes, which were the beginning of an inevitable dissolution, were imputed to the weakness of a penitent king."** "The condition of a penitent king thus assumed by Louis already lowered him greatly under the clergy; and however much he might gain thereby in public confidence, yet it became so much easier to see him still further lowered, in case he should again commit himself by any offensive transaction. Nor was it long ere he did so."†

Let the occasion of this new humiliation be noted. In 823 there was born to Louis (of his second queen Judith, the source of so much misery to him) a son Charles, known as *the Bald*.

"From the moment, indeed, of the birth of Charles, his father's *government appears to have become disorganized*. We are not possessed of sufficient information to state accurately the causes of that *general internal discontent which agitated the Empire*. But while the weakness of her monarch had been sufficiently revealed to the foreign enemies of France to expose her frontiers to attacks from the Mussulmans, the Bulgarians, and the Normans, a *formidable conspiracy also was ripening within her own bosom*. The ambition of Judith accelerated its progress; and when Louis—having carved out a new kingdom for her son Charles, six years old—now at the Diet of Worms (829) proclaimed him king of Germany, little was wanting to kindle into an immediate blaze the fierce torch of civil conflict."‡

The three elder sons of Louis, offended at the new arrangement, took up arms to overturn it, and

* MICHELET, *History of France*, vol. i. p. 219.

† SCHROECKH, as above.

‡ *Encycl. Metrop.* vol. xi. p. 431.

"soon found themselves at the head of a considerable party, which was still further remarkably strengthened by the accession of Wala, Abbot of Corbie, and cousin of Charlemagne. On the same side were the Archbishops of Lyons and Vienne, the Bishop of Amiens, the Abbot of St. Denys, and other *grandeess* spiritual and temporal. In 830 the conspiracy broke out openly, and Louis was overpowered. The empress was forced upon pain of death to enter a cloister, and obliged to use her influence to induce her husband to do the same. To this he would not consent; * but *so completely fallen was he to all dignity and authority* that, at an assembly of the *grandeess of his own party*, he refused to occupy the throne, until he had confessed his offences, and been compelled to take his proper seat." †

Having failed in forcing their father into the cloister,

"it was now resolved by his sons that Louis should still retain *the shadow and titles of monarchy*, the real power being absolutely vested in Lothair the eldest." ‡

Confusion now followed upon confusion. Louis was indeed restored, but only to experience the rebellion of one son after another. At last, after separate and ineffectual risings, the three sons combined against their father. Pope and Bishops all busied themselves in the matter. And one morning it was found that Louis in the presence

* Louis was in this seconded by "the monks who opposed and prevented that step at this stage. It was more for their interests that Louis should, for the present, retain the throne. And so they put themselves in motion, and succeeded so well in dividing the revolted princes, in rendering them mutually suspected, that Lothair, abandoned by his brothers, was no longer in a condition to consummate his design. Meanwhile Louis, who neither knew the origin of the tempest, nor how he had escaped it, found himself with surprise upon the throne; and, confounded equally by his good fortune and his bad, was more timid than ever."—DE MAABLY, liv. ii. chap. 4.

† SCHROECKE, as above.

‡ *Encycl. Metrop.*, as above.

of his sons' army had been asserted by his own.* Absolute submission was now inevitable. This was the famous affair of "the field of Blenheim" in the year 833.

Lothair, being now acknowledged Emperor, and

"being master of the person of Louis, determined to put an end to the matter at once, and to finish his father. This Lothair was a man who did not recoil from bloodshed: but he dreaded public execration if he laid parricidal hands on his father. He conceived the design of degrading him, by imposing on him a public penance so humiliating that he might never again raise his head. Lothair's bishops laid before the prisoner (whom they did not design to call *emperor*) a list of the crimes of which he was to avow himself guilty," after having first read aloud the same himself. "First, there was the death of Bernard—then came the perjuries to which he had exposed the people by the new divisions of the empire—then his having waged war in Lent—then his having been too severe upon the partizans of his sons [he had saved them from death]—then his having allowed Judith and others to justify themselves by oaths—sixthly, his having exposed the state to murders, pillages, and sacrilege, by exciting general wars; seventhly, his having excited those wars by arbitrary divisions of the empire; lastly, his having ruined the state which it was his duty to defend. This absurd confession having been read out in the church of St. Medard de Soissons, poor Louis disputed nothing, but signed the whole, humbled himself as much as they pleased, and throwing himself on a hair-cloth confessed himself thrice guilty, wept and asked permission to do public penance in reparation of the scandals he had caused. He then put off his military baldric, donned the hair-cloth, and in this miserable, degraded plight was led away by his son to the city where he had first assumed his crown."—MICHELET, p. 221.

He was then shut up in a monk's cell, where he was kept for a year without an attendant. The Emperor of the West, habited as a monk, and cloistered in a cell—can we

* As illustrative of the spirit of these episcopal advisers we find that the famous Agobard of Lyons, one of the best of them, being once sent for by Louis to assist him with his counsel, sent instead an Essay entitled "De Comparatione utriusque regiminis, ecclesiastici et politici, et quibus Ecclesiae dignitas praeferatur Imperatorum majestati."—*BOOKS*, vol. xxii.

see in this anything like the darkening of the sun by the smoke of civil confusion? And, as the question may well be put, "If priests, called 'bishops,' thus treated their emperor, their master, the son of Charlemagne—into what a horrible bondage had they not plunged the citizens?"*

One circumstance in connection with this miserable proceeding is worth mentioning.

"Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, whom Louis had raised from nothing and loaded with honours, was at the head of the ecclesiastics on this occasion. This audacious man, who dishonoured his character by manners as cruel as unchaste, forgot himself in pronouncing an irrevocable sentence of deposition on his master and benefactor. We are surprised (?) to see Agobard and Wala, both in high repute for sanctity, lend themselves to this minister of iniquity. *But Louis had undertaken to reform the episcopal body, nor could he expect less than the whole vengeance of the clergy.*"—VELLY, *Hist. de France*, vol. ii. p. 40.

In regard to Agobard, one of the most active and insolent in these proceedings, he lost, with some others, his See in consequence, upon the restoration of Louis. And yet in two years he was restored not only to that, but to the confidence of the Emperor.†

The following sentences from the best histories of those times will further illustrate both the imperial fall and its results—

"A king who confesses a fault, and repairs it, attracts the general esteem of his nation; but stupidly to acknowledge his errors, without amending them, is to make himself contemptible. It would seem that this is the last degree of degradation in a prince. And yet there is one lower still; and that is to confess himself guilty of a fault of which he is innocent, and to aggravate it by seeking to repair it. In this case (that of Bernard, as above) the Emperor had nothing with which to reproach himself; the

* VOLTAIRE, *L'Empire depuis Charlemagne*, tome i. p. 70.

† SCHROECKH, vol. xxii. p. 20.

trial had been legally conducted ; if injustice had been done, it was the nation that was guilty . . . and Louis' public confession of his pretended fault was a deadly offence to the whole council which had condemned the rebel." . . . "The same forms of government," says this writer, "were still maintained ; but the basis of all was as different as Louis from Charlemagne. The measures of the government became relaxed from day to day. . . . Each order of the state became an object of suspicion to the rest ; suspicion revived old enmities ; *division and disunion became universal*. . . . As abuses multiplied, Louis, in spite of his efforts to repress them, feels his own incapacity. He finds himself embarrassed as one who has become a spectacle to the assemblies of a nation which he cannot govern. He fears them, hates them, and yet convokes them. Such weakness, on the part of the prince, might well have annihilated the royal prerogative ; and yet Louis had extended it far beyond the bounds that Charlemagne had prescribed to himself. The more he enlarged his power, the less capable was he of using it ; and yet instead of perceiving this, he thought only of still enlarging it ; and having secured a measure of submission from his nobles, he took their complaisance for approbation, and ventured upon measures still bolder. He would now have his own authority set up in the place of the laws ; affected the most despotic power ; and reserved to himself the most arbitrary right of punishment.

"This conduct, so contrary to the principles of Charlemagne, and the natural character of Louis, was the work of the vassals of the palace—of his ministers—of the bishops and monks who frequented the Court—avaricious and ambitious men, who, to increase their own power, desired to see their master above the laws." * . . . "And thus the confusion of all ideas on the nature of the laws, and the rescripts of the prince, authorized them, as Hincmar informs us, to turn to their own taste the balance of justice. The lords feared not this excess of power in the hands of a prince whom they despised. More anxious for their own aggrandizement than jealous of their liberty, they thought of nothing but the extension of their own rights ; while the *people*, threatened on every side with a *grinding oppression by a crowd of tyrants*, groaned under the contempt into which the laws had fallen, and longed for the appearance of a common master to whom they might look for protection. . . .

* "Public opinion condemned both father and sons. But the clergy and the great vassals found these family dissensions profitable, and on that account encouraged and augmented the discord that prevailed."—MENZEL, *Hist. of Germany*, vol. i. p. 283.

Charlemagne had strengthened his Empire by bestowing kingdoms upon his sons, whom he could manage as his lieutenants. Louis, deceived by this example, thought to increase his engines of policy by associating Lothair in the Empire—at the same time bestowing kingdoms upon the other two. The elevation of his sons was the signal of discord; because, while he rendered them powerful, he gave at the same time his principal confidence to Judith their step-mother, who sought only to ruin them, for the sake of acquiring better fortune for her own son Charles.”* “Judith,” in the words of Michelet, “a beautiful and dangerous Eve, ruined and degraded her husband.”†

After a vivid picture of the confusion arising from the contests of the royal princes, whether among themselves, or with their father, De Mably proceeds—

“In the cloister of St. Medard, Louis would have been forgotten, had it not been for these. But thus he was restored to his throne, on which experiencing, till his death, nothing but new disgraces, he was continually occupied in *making ridiculous* by his weakness the *august dignity* with which he was invested; always fearing the treason of his sons, or pardoning their revolts. While the *royal authority was falling to nothing*, Louis was fomenting, without knowing it, the mutual hatred of his sons, and was thus dealing the *last blow to the government*. While taking with all good faith the steps which he believed most proper for re-uniting them, he was perpetuating their divisions, and blowing the fire of the civil wars which were to ruin his house. . . . The first troubles which had agitated the government of Louis caused him the loss of his assumed prerogatives and his just rights. The audacity of his sons made every one audacious. *It was no longer a question who should fear the laws, but how to be feared one's self; and, in the anarchy into which the State*

* The ABBE DE MABLY, *Observations sur l'Histoire de France*, liv. ii. chap. 4.

† “This princess,” says De Mably, “governed not her husband by the ascendant which talents and courage give over a feeble mind, but by that sort of restlessness, activity, and intrigue, which an indolent and contracted mind never fails to take for genius. Governed in her turn by Count Bernard, her lover, a man unjust, avaricious, and violent, she adopted from him every vice, and would have communicated them to her husband, had he been capable of taking on and keeping up a character.” —Liv. ii. chap. 4.

fell, justice sunk under the weight of violence. Princes such as Lothair and his brothers fell into the lowest contempt. And such was their conduct as to render honourable even rebellion and treason." . . . "The historians of the day may impute the miseries of France to the loss of 100,000 men, fellow-subjects of the Empire, at the battle of Fontenoy. But such a loss, more or less, in three kingdoms which embraced the greater part of Europe, could not have reduced them to the nothingness into which they fell. A far worse scourge had struck the French. It was the ruin of their laws which drew along with it that of their dominion. It was the independence of the great, the servitude, the misery, of the people, that shook the State to its foundations. . . . And whether it be that, in the midst of the civil wars, the national assemblies were not convoked at all, or met only as conventicles for the purpose of faction or flattery, yet such is the fact that there ceased in some measure to be a sovereign power in the State."*

And how, we may ask, could such a fact be more fitly expressed in a figure than by saying, that the sun was darkened by a thick smoke?

Such was the condition of the main portion of the European world, just after the favours lavished by Charlemagne upon its Churchmen. The fond attempt to govern by pampering these had thus worse than failed.

"Even writers not professing to see much of the supernatural in history cannot avoid the reflection that a government with the best heart is often given as a punishment to a land."†

* As an illustration of the *confusion* in connection with Louis and his sons, we give the following from De Mably, as above.—Judith, to ruin Lothair, favours the two younger brothers, increases their domains, and pronounces Lothair deposed (i.e. from the joint-emperorship). Lothair, desiring to be reconciled to his father, sends to him the Archbishop of Milan, who, after a long conference, settles the whole by the text, "He that hateth his brother is a murderer," &c. . . . The three brothers again unite, and depose their father. Lothair, now desiring to reign supreme, offends his brothers, who unite against him and restore their father.

† SCHMIDT, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, vol. i. p. 477.

Having reached this point, we go back a step to see what share Charlemagne had in the occasioning of it all.

Now his policy had always been to govern his vast dominions with the help of the clergy. Hence, when he associated his son Louis with himself in the imperial dignity,

“he charged him to look upon the prelates as his fathers.”* “And yet nothing was more remote from his character than the policy of those weak princes who have suffered the clergy to rule under their names. He acted upon a systematic plan of government, conceived by his own comprehensive genius, but requiring too continual an application of similar talents for durable execution. It was the error of a superior mind, zealous for religion and learning, to believe that men dedicated to the functions of the one, and possessing what remained of the other, might, through strict rules of discipline, enforced by the constant vigilance of the Sovereign, become fit instruments to reform and civilize a barbarous empire.” And this was “the chief political error of Charlemagne’s conduct, the encouraging of the power and pretensions of the hierarchy.”†

What though he had “often tried to restrict the clergy, as persons, to spiritual duties; quelled the insubordination of the monasteries; endeavoured to bring the seculars into a monastic life, by instituting and regulating chapters—after having granted wealth and power, all his attempts were vain; his strong hand withdrawn, they laughed at control.”‡

Thus had Charlemagne sown, and the reaping of his sons corresponded. Would it be too much to say that the father had gathered together the locust eggs, and that the hot smoke from the pit after his death hatched them?

* SCHROECKH, vol. xix. p. 324.

† HALLAM’s *Mid. Ages*, chap. vii. vol. i. p. 340.

‡ BRYCE, p. 67 [form of sentence slightly altered].

CHAPTER XIX.

FIFTH TRUMPET.

LOCUSTS ISSUING FROM THE SMOKE.—THEIR CROWNS, STINGS, MARTIAL ARRAY.

AMBITIOUS and avaricious as the clergy undoubtedly were in the days of Charlemagne, they had not as yet assumed the position of the locusts in the vision. Nor even in the first days of his successor does the description apply to them as it must to its real counterpart.

“To call Church Councils, to exercise a sort of presidency in the same, causing either the repeal of existing, or the acceptance of proposed laws, continued still the privilege of princes . . . and the very circumstance that Louis in such assemblies maintained such a position shows that in the beginning of his reign he was still completely a match for the higher clergy.” *

Thus, in 816, he held a diet in which he produced a paper with minute directions in regard to clerical duties, copies of which he sent to all the archbishops in the Empire, that they might see to the observance of the same. In consequence of such enactments

“the higher clergy actually commenced a vigorous reformation of themselves, laying aside the golden girdle, shoulder-belt, the great knife with its jewels, spurs, and costly robes, which they had been accustomed to wear.” “Among the abbots and monks too he commenced a similar reformation. . . . Although this prince did not long maintain the

* SCHROECKH, vol. xxii.

authority of his father, yet for several years did the clergy show a willingness to live according to his ordinances.* . . . In 828 he made a strenuous effort for a universal reformation in his kingdom by means of synods. Famine, pestilence, and the devastations of the Normans, had for a considerable time sadly shattered his states. To move God for the removal of these evils, he not only appointed a universal fast, but ordained four Church Councils, to be held at Menz, Lyons, Paris, and Toulouse, at which the bishops were to decide upon what required reformation among themselves, as well as in the Court and society generally. Not only so, but he dispatched plenipotentiaries into the provinces, who were to scrutinize more closely the conduct of the clergy and magistrates, and had an express charge prepared by the bishops, in which he specially promised to amend his government: These assemblies were held in 829." —SCHROEDER, as above.

All this Louis did for the security of his kingdom. One thing he did not do, and that was to provide an army to meet the Normans. So he failed as to the secular object, and he failed still more as to the spiritual. It was something else than reformation that the bishops sought.

"In a petition to the Emperors, Louis and Lothair, they ask, *first of all*, that the Imperial princes and nobles of the realm may be required fully to recognize the name, power, and dignity of bishops, which may be sufficiently understood, they say, from Christ's words conveying to them the power of binding and loosing, as well as from Constantine's decision that, as gods, they were superior to all judgment."

The result of the whole is thus given :

"Already with these four Synods had Louis lost in a measure his superiority over the Frank bishops. It was an excess of presumption, unknown to his father, to be told that they alone might decide upon the improvement of religion and the Church ; and boldly enough did they take this opportunity of impressing upon him that their importance far surpassed his."

* To this indeed there were serious exceptions, as, for example, in the case already mentioned, of the clerical conspiracy in favour of Bernard.

The clergy were now beginning to assume an attitude in which we shall soon find them acting their part to perfection. The smoke of civil contention and confusion of all sorts that was now filling the land proved peculiarly favourable to their designs.

“Louis’ sons, in their risings against their father, did especial injury both to themselves and the royal authority for a long time to come, by employing for the legal establishment of their titles the mediation of bishops in imperial matters, leading them thus to assume in the name of religion an actual authority in such affairs.”—SCHROECKH.

Of the nature and result of these transactions Mr. Hallam thus writes (he has been speaking of the partition of the Empire among the sons of Louis):

“These were rendered still more formidable by the concurrence of a different class of enemies, whom it had been another error of the Emperor to provoke. Charlemagne had assumed a thorough control and supremacy over the clergy, and his son was perhaps still more vigilant in chastising their irregularities and reforming their rules of discipline. But to this, which they had been compelled to bear at the hand of the first, it was not equally easy for the second to obtain their submission. Louis drew on himself the inveterate enmity of men, *who united with the turbulence of martial nobles a skill in managing those engines of offence which were peculiar to their order*, and to which the implicit devotion of his character laid him very open.”—HALLAM, *Middle Ages*, chap. i. part 1.

“The Emperor Louis,” says another writer, “lost all the influence by which his father had kept in subjection the united bishops of his kingdom, including the Romish. In addition to the submissiveness of the Christian princes, an inconsiderate heaping of the most valuable privileges, immunities, incomes, possessions, and honours upon the bishops, even to their most lively participation in the affairs of court, state, and war, had converted them actually into what they had long been called, *Princes of the Church*. It was essentially an aristocratic government which the Christian Society, inconsistently enough, had given itself. . . . And this aristocracy supported itself in a very perceptible manner.”—

SCHROECKH, vol. xx. p. 5.

The following, from a celebrated French author, will further illustrate this episcopal lordship :

“When there exists, as there did in the 10th century, a government of the spiritual order . . . when spiritual authority is established . . . and has taken possession, in the name of right and power, of the human reason and conscience, it is natural that it should go on to assume a dominion over the temporal order ; that it should argue—What ! have I a right, have I authority over that which is most elevated, most independent in man—over his thoughts, over his interior will, over his conscience ? and have I not a right over his exterior, his temporal, and natural interests ? Am I the interpreter of Divine justice and truth, and yet not able to regulate the affairs of this world according to justice and truth ? The force of this reasoning shows that the spiritual order had a natural tendency to encroach on the temporal.”—Guizot, *Modern Civilization*, p. 159.

So much for the *principle*. As for *practice*, the lordly standing will come out only too notoriously in connection with the locust character. Nor indeed can we well separate the two. It is locusts, *as it were crowned*, that we have to do with.

“It is characteristic then of these centuries that now there were bestowed upon the churches not only small estates, fields, tithes, and similar incomes, but *whole towns, counties, ROYAL tolls, RIGHT OF COINAGE, and other landlord privileges.*” (SCHROECKH, vol. xxii. pp. 587–9.) “Louis le Debonair especially bestowed these rights on many monasteries and churches, on account of which a chronicler says ‘he was so indulgent to the clergy, who by their government of souls were princes of heaven, as to make them princes not the less of his kingdom.’”*

“The Bishops now obtained *earldoms, dukedoms, markgravates, and other positions of authority.*” Thus “Lewis the Infant made counts of the bishops of Treves (902) and of Tongern (908). Henry I. conferred on the bishop of Toul the dukedom and dignity of the city (928). Otho I. conferred on his brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, the dukedom of

* GIESELER, vol. ii. p. 255, who speaks of the “*Regalia, rights belonging to royalty*, which many of the bishops received.”

Lorraine, the bishoprics of Magdeburg, Brandenburg, &c., with the privileges of a count.* “In these respects this emperor indeed exceeded all his predecessors. The *incalculable enrichment of the clergy* through him and other emperors has done *incomparably more damage* to the German kingdoms than the greatest increase of the secular princes in lands and incomes.”—SCHROECKH, vol. xxii. pp. 587-9.

So much for the *bishops*. The similar ennobling of *abbots* seems to have commenced with the one of Corvey, who was made a count by the Louis just mentioned in 900. And looking, in fact, at the new cloisters of the period in question, that whole period stands out as

“one in which the *immense multiplication and enriching* of those went on *without intermission, to the great detriment of nations and princes.*” (SCHROECKH.) “So rich,” in the words of another,† “had the monks now become, that the famous Alcuin (archbishop of York) is reproached with having 20,000 slaves,” and that, even under Charlemagne, whose secretary and constitutional adviser he was. “In right of their fiefs and abbeys, Churchmen even headed armies of their own tenants in the field, to the number of 10,000.”‡ “The monks, in short, now increased, and went on enriching and corrupting themselves, especially in the West. Cluny, Gemblours, Quedlinburg, Bergen, and a multitude of other cloisters, or distinguished abbeys, were now founded, and, in honour of their saintly patrons, provided with *the most extravagant incomes.*” (SCHROECKH.) “Much as the Church property,” says Schmidt

* GIESELER, vol. ii. p. 375. Here is an example of a bishop of those days: “Meinwerk, of Paderborn, having long importuned the Emperor Henry II. (the saint) for an estate in Westphalia, at last obtained it with these words—‘Mayst thou have the hatred of God and all the saints who dost not cease to rob me of possessions granted to the detriment of my kingdom.’ The bishop, holding up the deed, answered, ‘Blessed art thou, Henry, and well shall it be with thee, to whom for this oblation heaven will open itself, and thy soul possess joys eternal with the saints. Hear all ye people, consider it all the faithful—such an oblation becomes the abolition of sins. . . . This let all the faithful, according to their ability, study to imitate; that so they may obtain the eternal for the temporal, the abiding for the transitory.’”—GIESELER, *ibid.*

† VELLY, *Histoire de France*, vol. ii. p. 58.

‡ GUTHRIE'S *History of the World*, vol. viii. p. 372.

(as above, vol. i. pp. 625-7), "had been reduced under Charles Martel, in no smaller proportion did it now increase. Whoever doubts of this, let him simply go through the donation deeds of the Abbey of Fulda, or those of the Cloister Lorsch (in the Bergstrasse), and he will surely enough be astonished, especially if he knows the condition of the districts referred to. In regard to the Cloister of Corvey, founded by Louis in 815, its own chronicle says, so early as the year 828, that *its property was increased to an endless extent*. Charlemagne himself had sufficiently seen what was to be apprehended. In the famous capitulary which he gave out in 811, he says, 'Let the clergy be asked, whether that was called leaving the world, if one should proceed without cessation, by *all possible means*, and by all sorts of art,* to *increase his possessions*—at one time promising heaven, at another threatening hell, and thus, in the name of God and the saints, robbing of *their own* rich and poor who happen to be simple and defenceless, depriving *the lawful heirs of the expected inheritance*, and thus driving them by want to sin and crime, while their paternal estate is carried off by another.'

And if it was so even under Charlemagne, what must it have been afterwards.

"It may be said," continues Schmidt, "that he himself had enriched the newly founded bishoprics to an extraordinary degree; and yet if he did appropriate for their support large tracts of land, still must they not be taken for that which they became in the sequel. Saxony was extremely little cultivated, and very poor in money; but already it needed not a little for the support of a bishop with his clergy, as well as the building and necessary furnishing of the churches."

On this subject Mr. Hallam, surveying a wide field, writes:

"The French monarchs of the first dynasty and their great chief, the Saxon line of emperors, the kings of England and Leon, set hardly any

* How far there is here anything locust-like may be judged from the following: "In their progress," says Dr. Shaw, "they kept their ranks like men of war, climbing over tree or wall that was in their way. Nay, they entered into our very houses and bed-chambers like so many thieves. Every effort of the inhabitants to stop them was unavailing; the trenches they had dug were quickly filled up, and the fires they had kindled extinguished by infinite swarms succeeding each other."

bounds to their liberality, as numerous charters still extant attest. Many churches possessed seven or eight thousand mansi; one with but two thousand passed for only indifferently rich."

After pointing out the more legitimate sources from which the Church derived all this wealth, such as the cultivation of lands hitherto unappropriated, and the purchase of estates, especially in crusading times, he proceeds:

"Other sources of wealth were less pure. Those who entered a monastery threw frequently their whole estates into the common stock, and even the children of rich parents were expected to make a donation of land on assuming the cowl. Some gave their property to the church before entering on military expeditions. Gifts were made by some to take effect after their lives, and bequests by many in the terrors of dissolution. Even those legacies to charitable purposes, which the clergy could with more decency and speciousness recommend, and of which the administration was generally confined to them, were frequently applied to their own benefit. They failed not, above all, to inculcate upon the wealthy sinner that no atonement could be so acceptable to heaven as liberal presents to its earthly delegates. To die without allotting a portion of worldly wealth to pious uses was accounted almost like suicide, or a refusal of the last sacraments."—HALLAM, vol. i. p. 333.

We conclude this chapter with two extracts for which all this will have prepared the reader:

"The kingdom of France had become at this period," says Sismondi,* a species of theocratical republic. The authority of the king was as if annihilated; that of the *grandeess*, much diminished . . . several old families had become extinct during the war, either by the terrible battle of Fontenoy, in civil discords, or in fighting the Normans. *Every one of the survivors was beset by the Churchmen, who profited by every moment of weakness or sickness of their penitents to extort from them ample donations by the fear of death or of hell. The clergy only never died. They never experienced either confiscation or division; and the extent of their lands augmenting in each generation, it seemed as if in a short period they would find themselves masters of the whole kingdom.*"

* *History of the French*, English Translation, p. 342.

Meanwhile the natural equals or rivals of this class from among the nobles had been sinking as it had been rising.

“The lesser aristocracy had now greatly decayed ; the equal division of properties among brethren had proved nearly as destructive to the nobles as to the monarch.”

And thus, by one means or another, was achieved this stupendous fact that—

“*In the middle of the ninth century the Church stood alone unimpaired, and seemed at once to be possessed of all property as of all power.*”—CROWE, *History of France*, vol. i. p. 19.

Now, if *such a condition of the Christian Church*—and that as regarded from the Scripture stand-point—does not fitly substantiate the locust symbol, we know not where or how to look for such a thing. And, in regard to the scorpion sting, as surely as it occasions both surprise and agony, so must many, with their property in clerical hands, have experienced, whether living or dying, a sensation much like “the torment of a scorpion when it striketh a man.” It is not hard to imagine how the unhappy victims of the priest, in the Europe of those days, must often have felt, as the news burst upon them, how their ghostly fathers had been arranging their estates for the benefit of their souls.

CHAPTER XX.

FIFTH TRUMPET.

THE CROWNS AND STINGS, ETC.—CONTINUED.

"They had on their heads as it were crowns of gold."

"THE prelates and abbots were completely feudal nobles. They swore fealty for their lands to the king, or other superior, received the homage of their vassals, enjoyed the same immunities, exercised the same jurisdiction, maintained the same authority, as the lay lords among whom they dwelt."—HALLAM, *Middle Ages*, chap. ii. part. 2.

But this was only a small part of the assumed dominion of the clergy of those days. There was a less tangible, but so much the more dangerous a supremacy which they had bestirred themselves to exert. After alluding to the feudal position just spoken of, a principal writer on the constitution of the Church thus proceeds.*

"So much more room is there for surprise if we shall see them make so many other efforts to gain for the Church; *i.e. for themselves*, in the name of the Church, a real superiority over the State, or at least more power over the State than they had hitherto possessed." "In order to this there was invented a distinction between two alleged characters, as meeting in each bishop—the feudal lord and the spiritual lord. Nor do they leave it long doubtful to what point the distinction is meant to tend. God had divided the government of the world, they said at a Synod in 881, betwixt the temporal and spiritual authorities—assigning to one the earthly, to the other the spiritual and eternal. But it is as

* PLANCK, *Gesch. der Christl. Kirchl. Gesells. Verfassung*, vol. iii. pp. 470, *seqq.*

clear as day that the priest as much excels the king in dignity as he does in office. The king can be consecrated only by the priest ; the priest, on the other hand, can owe nothing to the king in such a matter. The plain inference was that they could make kings. They used indeed the expression that every king is made of God, meaning all the time that through them only does God communicate the kingly power."

"Such indeed was the dignity attributed to the clergy that in all States it came to this, that the bishops, as the spiritual barons, formed the *first estate* of the nation, and thus stood at the head of its representatives, insisting upon it that they must be maintained in this position out of regard to the will of God and the honour due to them. Hence, however much the temporal lords increased in importance, the bishops ever kept ahead of them. And so strenuously was this precedence contended for that, under the last Carolingian princes, it was enacted at several assemblies that no count in a province might hold his court on the day appointed by a bishop for his. On the contrary, he must be ever ready to afford to the bishop all needful service."

The locusts, as we have seen, were to have *stings of scorpions*. If attacked, they have for defence *breastplates of iron*. They are *like horses prepared for war*; and the *sound of their wings is as the sound of chariots of many horses rushing to the battle*. Dreadful enemies truly! Fearful combination of rage and energy, of discipline and armour! And yet it is only as locusts for devouring, and as scorpions for stinging, that the agents in the vision are distinctly set forth as executing their purpose. The whole appearance ascribed to them they doubtless possess. Every pretension implied in it they will certainly put forth. The entire terror of the character imputed to them they will not fail to wield, nor that without success, as we may well assume. Still it does not follow that they do all that they would, or that they actually fight out and win at every point that battle for which they have so resolutely equipped themselves.

We aim for the present at a general identification of these features :

"It is highly probable," says Mr. Hallam, "that an ambitious hierarchy did not endure without reluctance this imperial supremacy of Charlemagne, though it was not expedient for them to resist a prince so formidable, and from whom they had so much to expect. But their dissatisfaction at a scheme of government incompatible with their own object of perfect independence produced a violent recoil under Louis the Debonair, who attempted to act the censor of ecclesiastical abuses with as much earnestness as his father, but with very inferior qualifications for so delicate an undertaking."

The simple son of the shrewd father, in short, had not taken into account the scorpion stings, the iron breastplates, and battle array of the much-offending company of the priests, or, in the words of the secular historian, "*those engines of offence which were peculiar to their order.*" What those engines were must be shortly told.

"§ 1. In their hands also," says Planck (speaking of the bishops of the 9th and 10th centuries), "there was never wanting a *peculiar means*, the exercise of which gave them a *power of intruding* into many relations of civil life, and even of the State itself. This power consisted simply in the application of Church discipline, or the *ecclesiastical right of punishment in regard to all lay-sins*, and in the right which might be allowed them as bishops in civil jurisprudence. To both the one and the other they had long been accustomed. But *each, during the present period, became observably more significant and operative than heretofore.*"

"§ 3. The peculiar instrument for securing the efficacy of the Church jurisdiction was the *Bann*. But this originally meant nothing more than exclusion from positive ecclesiastical advantages, and for this thousands cared nothing." "*But from the commencement of this period* had they been *quietly working* to make the *Bann* more fearful, and consequently more efficacious. In this they persevered during the whole period; and not without success, as soon appeared."

"§ 6. The first important device for giving efficacy to the Church-sentence was a *distinction which was introduced* in the 9th century betwixt *Excommunication* and the *Bann*—the former being made to involve simply an exclusion from Church fellowship and its advantages; the latter bringing down the *formal curse of the Church*. The one was

simply the loss of a certain good; the other brought with it a train of actual or supposed evils, temporal and eternal, since it was held that *God must infallibly hear and fulfil the curse as much as the prayers of the Church*. And all earnestness was now employed to render the curse formulary *more and more frightful and affecting*" (grässlicher und pathetischer).

"§ 7. By this new distinction there was introduced a gradation in the estimate of sins and the infliction of punishment, which was *greatly instrumental in aving the offender*."

"§ 8. Not satisfied with this, the bishops laboured to bring it about that their Bann might be attended with consequences more disadvantageous still in a civil point of view, rightly judging that only thus could it attain a *terribleness sufficiently efficacious*. Hence they spared no pains to instil into the people the belief that any one suffering under their Bann, or even excommunication, was thereby rendered *incapable of any civil office, or even military service*. And this they frankly declared as law in the year 850. . . . This meant little less than that there was involved in their Bann the entire loss of civil honour, from which followed the loss of other advantages, which in society are as needful for practical purposes as for general estimation. § 9. For by the principles thus established no excommunicated person could bring a matter before a spiritual tribunal, could give valid witness in a Church Court, could deposit a testament in a church, or secure its validity by the necessary forms. Even in the Civil Court he was excluded from all share in cases which required an oath. He could not marry, since no priest could bless him; he could hold no church goods, either by lease or fief. And if it was nothing to him that he was incapable of burial in consecrated ground, yet was it a disgrace to the whole family after his death, which they would gladly have paid well to be quit of. Thus it was well provided for, not only that the Bann should be a thing dreadful to the imagination, but also something *smartingly painful*" (fühlbarschmerz-haftes).*

"§§ 10-12. In the actual infliction of Church penalties there were still serious difficulties, especially in the case of the great. For the meeting of these there was introduced a new device—the *Interdict*. By means of this the whole district in which the offence had taken place was put under the Bann, the object being to *engage the fanaticised multitude in the interest of the Church and of the quarrel*."

* "Ambitious prelates, more warriors than Churchmen, hardly able to read, much less to write; *terrible however* as much by the spiritual thunder in which, in the words of Pasquier, they often dabbled indiscriminately and too freely, as by the temporal power which they had usurped in their cities and dioceses."—VELLY, vol. ii. p. 244.

" §§ 13-20. Traces of this are to be met with in the 9th century ; and there occurs in the 10th a circumstance which furnishes a proof hardly credible of the amount of unnatural power which the Church already ascribed to her Interdict, and of the immense consequences which she expected from it. They dared formally to ordain that an Interdict imposed on a place should not be removed until full compensation had been made to the *clergy* of the place for whatever loss might have accrued to them from it."*

We may sum up this general view in the words of another writer :

" *Even the most honest members of the clerical body,*" says Schroeckh, "*were possessed with the idea that their state could not be too great, too powerful, and too terrible, in order that, in the name and by means of religion, they might win the most decisive influence over everything.*"

Or, as this would sound in apocalyptic phrase, they could not have in them too much of the locust, too much of the crowned lord, too much of the scorpion and war-horse. And it could hardly be an exaggeration to say that the proclamation and execution of an interdict upon a community must have been something much like "the sound of chariots of many horses rushing to battle." One thing the interdict, with all its terrors, clearly fell short of, and that was "killing." Whatever its power of stinging, there was in it no excision of life, socially, civilly, or naturally. The offender had but to submit, and instantly the infliction ceased. That is to say, the sentence was never final, only provisional. The great "killing" work was reserved for a power more terrible than the locusts, and to which they must soon give way.†

* PLANCK, vol. iii. chap. vi.

† Planck gives instances of episcopal interdicts in France in 1023 and 1031 ; but these lie rather outside the period with which we are now concerned.

CHAPTER XXI.

FIFTH TRUMPET.

HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATION OF THE SAME.

IN 841 died Louis *le Debonair*, being succeeded in the emperorship by Lothair, his eldest son, who was soon forced to yield to the united arms of his brothers Louis and Charles. It was during this struggle that the terrible battle of Fontenoy was fought, when 40,000, or, according to some, 100,000 are said to have perished.

“And all the historians of the time agree that the whole force of France perished with them. Henceforward the Normans and Saxons met nowhere with resistance, and the entire kingdom was exposed defenceless to pillage. For the surviving population, except the class of prelates and nobles, were serfs and villains, and consequently forbidden and unused to bear arms. The State was without a defender, the melancholy and inevitable consequence of slavery.”—CROWE, *History of France*, p. 19.

In such a state of exhaustion, and for other reasons as well, the successful combatants did not venture to take possession of the government without first obtaining the sanction of an episcopal assembly.

“Such was the superstition of the times. It was imagined that the episcopal character conferred superior light in matters civil and military, as well as ecclesiastical. Hence the enormous authority of the prelates, who, in deciding upon everything, found the means of turning everything

to their own advantage. The princes themselves inflamed their ambition, too great already, and, for the obtaining of crowns, constituted *them* the dispensers of them. The bishops accordingly pronounced Lothair to have forfeited his crown, and transferred the kingdom to Charles * and Louis." (VELLY, vol. ii. p. 60.) "Thus the Church, having already tasted," says Mr. Hallam, "the pleasure of trampling on crowned heads, was eager to renew the experiment."

It was not long before Charles in his turn had to undergo a like treatment to that which he had invoked upon Lothair. Being first threatened with deposition—the means for enforcing which were wanting at the time—he received from "the bishops, abbots, and the rest of the faithful" in his dominions a remonstrance, in which it appeared plainly which of all his offences was really the most dangerous to him.

"We tell you," say the remonstrants, "that the state of the convents in your kingdom is perverted and confounded, as it ought not and cannot be; that you must immediately, in the best and most reasonable manner you can, endeavour to restore and correct it," &c.†

In the course of the same proceedings more than one strange scene occurred. Thus Louis, having been invited

* "Charles *the Bald* was a prince always restless, ruled by an inordinate ambition which made him to break through all laws. He was hated by his people, whom he burdened with taxes; despised by the great, whom he could neither reward nor punish to purpose; always occupied with projects of acquisition which, in aggrandizing his states, never rendered his people happier. . . . He was the most powerful of all the sons of Louis Debonair, and might have been the restorer of his family, enfeebled by partitions innumerable. He was its destroyer. His *reign, which was that of the bishops*, is the epoch of the fall of the Carovingian house." (VELLY, vol. ii. p. 125.) In De Mably (ii. 180) we read: "Ruine entière de l'ancien gouvernement sous le règne de Charles le Chauve."

† But see SISMONDI, p. 338. What the abuse was, see in BALUZ, tom. ii. p. 77.

by certain bishops to take possession of Charles' crown, and after a temporary success being obliged to flee, Charles calls an assembly of bishops, in which he demands redress from the party which had injured him, thus pleading his own cause.

"No one ought to have degraded me from the throne to which I was consecrated until at least I had been heard and judged by the bishops, through whose ministry I was consecrated, who are called the thrones of God, in which God sitteth, and by whom He dispenses His judgment, to whose paternal chastisement I was willing to submit, and do still submit myself."* The chief offender of whom Charles thus complained was Wenilo, archbishop of Sens, and the matter was thus terminated: "A council was called at Metz, when the archbishops Hincmar, Gunther, Wenilo, and six bishops were sent to the Emperor with the following proposal: The council offered him absolution from his offences, on the condition that he would acknowledge all the evil he had done in their dioceses, never again raise such disturbances in the Church, put away his bad counsellors, and *contribute of his substance to the flourishing estate of the Church and clergy.*"† Thus "to render the act of the rebellious bishops both more degrading and annoying to the Emperor, their attempt against him was left unpunished; and the president of the council, the perfidious Venilo, died shortly after in his archbishopric—a man whom the Emperor, from being clerk of his chapel, had raised to that dignity."‡

This looks not unlike "the sting of a scorpion when he striketh a man."

Nor did the other royal brother fare better at the bishops' hands.

"We meet at the conclusion of this matter with an attempt which shows well the degradation to which the majesty of the throne was now reduced. The French bishops, assembled at Metz, deputed three prelates to point out to the king of Germany that he had incurred excommunication for all the evils he had caused by entering France with an

* HALLAM, as above, chap. vii.

† SCHROECKH, vol. xxii.

‡ VELLY, vol. ii. p. 82.

army. They exhorted him to confess his sin, seek for pardon, and reinstate the ecclesiastics in their *privileges and authority*. On the faithful execution of these terms he was offered absolution, otherwise he must undergo all the anathemas of the Church. The transaction seems so much the more extraordinary, as the French assembly had no sort of jurisdiction over the German king, a new proof that the clergy thought themselves entitled to dispose of the interests of princes, and to give or take away crowns. With all submission the weak prince accepted of the terms—submission which could not fail to confirm the prelates in their haughty pretensions. And thus encouraged, they bound themselves at the Council of Savonnières to continue *most closely united among themselves for the correction of the kings and nobles of the French kingdom, as well as of the people committed to them.*" *

It was in 859 when these strange proceedings took place, seventeen years after the royal brothers, having put down Lothair, had "constituted the bishops as the real judges over their government." Thus appealed to, "*the weapons of the Church were daily becoming more terrible.*" † So much so that

"the bishops, as the depositaries of the faith, considered it impossible to push their prerogative too far; and, alarmed by their assumptions, this same Charles the Bald found himself, on a certain occasion, constrained to swear"—that he would yield no more to them? No; but—"that he would never touch their person or their order." ‡

He greatly dreaded, it would seem, the scorpion stings; and he knew well that he had nothing with which to confront that formidable array in which the ecclesiastics had leagued themselves for their terrible work of "correction."

In regard to the position of the clergy elsewhere, we add the following:

* VELLY, p. 85. See the original document on p. 86.

† SCHROECKH, vol. xxii. p. 449.

‡ See VELLY, anno 845.

"Even after Otho I. had restored so many princely, and especially imperial rights in Church matters, yet *was that age invariably distinguished from the preceding by this*, that whereas princes, such as Charlemagne, had often caused Church laws to be published as their own ordinances by Synods—now these ordinances were no more than the resolutions of the Synods, given out to be universally observed." Again, "after all the exertions of the German princes to curb the bishops" (and think of rulers like Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great), "yet, taken upon the whole, the rights of the princes fell deeper and deeper under their clergy."*

Again, "England," says Mr. Hallam, "has been obsequious, beyond most other countries, to the arrogance of her hierarchy, especially during the Anglo-Saxon period, when the nation was sunk in ignorance and effeminate superstition." . . . In the matter of King Edwy, "the behaviour of archbishop Odo and St. Dunstan was an intolerable outrage of spiritual tyranny."†—*Middle Ages*, vol. i. chap. vii. p. 342.

There is one circumstance in regard to the position of the clergy which must be noticed, even if it seem to conflict in a measure with the view now given of the standing of the entire order. It is this—that under the last of the Carolingians there took place a great depression in their fortunes generally.

"With the exception of the prelates who, as Counts or Dukes, held immediately of the king, the other clergy had become vassals of those same lords of whom they had hitherto taken precedence, and over whom the laws granted them the most extensive rights." "Most melancholy in these circumstances were the cries to be heard, on every side, of the spoilers and oppressors of other days, spoiled and oppressed themselves."

Now suppose that this were the whole of the case, what would be the legitimate inference but just that the locust period had now come to an end? And indeed we may

* SCHROECKH, vol. xxii. p. 457.

† "In 975 had Dunstan and his fellow bishops made *for themselves alone* a king." "In some respects the English bishops at this time even outdid the French and German."—PLANCK.

take this as a symptom that the period was drawing to a close. But then this is not by any means the whole of the case ;

"For the greater the losses of the clergy had been, the more anxiously were they now concerned about repairing them. The credit, which as ministers of religion they enjoyed, furnished the means for this ; and, skilfully profiting by the small measure of repute in which the ordinary judges were held, they extended their jurisdiction far beyond the ancient bounds which had confined it under the reign of Charlemagne."

"The progress of the ecclesiastics was rapid. Their tribunals claimed cognizance of all matters of faith, marriage, sacrilege, simony, sorcery, concubinage, usury. All processes of clerks—including all who had ever been such, however employed now—of widows and orphans, devolved upon them. At every marriage they took cognizance of the matrimonial terms, the woman's dowry, &c. Everything in the matter of testaments belonged to them, because the last wishes of one who had fallen under the judgment of God could with propriety fall under the jurisdiction of the Church alone."

"The grand argument for these assumptions in civil matters was simply that, in virtue of the power of the keys, they must take cognizance of everything in the shape of sin, in order to its remission or retention ; and, since in every lawsuit there must be sin on one side, therefore every such matter properly belonged to them."

"Their undertaking was of the greatest importance, and its success could not fail to give to the bishops an absolute empire ; whilst the lords would be ruined by their continual wars for the preservation of their secular rights."

"As far as the soul excels the body, it was further argued, and eternal life our present exile here, so far does the spiritual jurisdiction excel the temporal. The one is compared to *gold*, the other to *lead*. And to such an extent did the clergy succeed in carrying their golden rule that the secular justices became a burden to those who had hitherto supported them. And the bishops who had made for themselves a sort of lordship in their entire dioceses" (wearing, "*as it were, crowns of gold*") "requiring that the powers of the world should treat them with every sort of respect," and forbidding, like as many kings, "that any one should presume to sit down in their presence, unless by their command"—these

* Such was the First Canon at their Council of Troyes in 878, the king himself, as well as the pope, being present.—WADDINGTON, p. 249.

same bishops are now found "confessing that the emoluments of their offices constituted their chief riches, and that they would be ruined if these were removed. Betwixt this and the previous conduct of the clergy there was chiefly this difference, that, whereas they had formerly been in circumstances to rob the subjects of the realm *directly*, they now set themselves to spoil the lawful judges of their just emoluments; while by the most vexatious multiplication of processes, they managed to absorb much that belonged simply to the people, and with which no lawyer had anything to do."—DE MALEY, book iii. chap. iv. pp. 31-47.

Thus the clergy, notwithstanding the shock which they had received, still acted the locust part; while their dark surprises, with the agony occasioned by their mock judgments, could be no better than scorpions' stings. And then, in addition to all their avarice, cunning, and cruelty, there was never wanting the lordliness of men who reckoned that the world was made for priests, not priests for the world.

An objection to all this will probably have occurred to some, which we may here notice. "What!" it may be asked, "do you mean to say that a symbolic army of locusts, reckonable only by myriads, can be substantiated by a company of Churchmen amounting to a few hundreds?" And the easy "impossible" is at once in many a mouth. But what if on second thoughts the matter begins to look differently? What if, in the marked absence of the slightest reference to multitude (see chap. xvi. above)—if, with the direct view, on the other hand, of a lordship suggestive of the few rather than the many—while yet some hundreds of lords may yet be the representatives of as many hundred thousands of coöperators—what, we say, if, when the matter is thus viewed, the "impossible"

has to retire? And, it having gone, we can then freely ask, Whether it be the work itself in its quality and quantity, or the mere number of workers, that forms the grand characteristic of this locust scene? and then again, Whether it does not seem that a work of the character required has been as thoroughly done by those few hundreds of crowned locusts as we can imagine any locust work done by any number of millions?

CHAPTER XXII.

FACES OF MEN, AND HAIR OF WOMEN.

THE locusts were to have "faces of men." This follows immediately upon "the crowns as of gold." And so it was not by the usual method of brute force or merciless slaughter that they won their dominion, but by their superior intelligence; by the depth of their policy; by appealing, however falsely, to men's understandings; and working, however basely, on their consciences. And thus endowed with the faces of men, the locusts would show a kinsmanship with that "little horn" which was to "have eyes as the eyes of a man."

Besides this, whatever of education and learning still remained in those ages of darkness, it was unquestionably the property of the clerical order.

"Being the creature of the bishops," says Michelet, "it was natural that he (Charles the Bald) should transfer to them the greater part of his authority. Nothing was more just; *they alone had still the knowledge* and the power to enable them in some degree to remedy the absolute disorder prevailing in the kingdom."

As to how they applied their knowledge and their power is another question. Sometimes, indeed, these spiritual lords had recourse even to the sword.

"They felt themselves, however, inferior to their rivals in this respect, and such mistrust in themselves naturally induced them always to give the preference to negotiation over arms, to neglect everything that would have contributed to keep up the military spirit among their vassals, and to enervate the population in every district that passed into their power."

"Among the laity talent met with no reward, ambition had no object, all character was being effaced, and a mortal languor seemed to have taken possession of the French nobility, diminished in number and influence. *But the clergy had reaped the heritage of all the worldly passions, as well as the means of satisfying them.* They united the sacred studies to politics, and secured to those who distinguished themselves by their *genius, their knowledge, or their character, an influence, a power, and a glory*, very superior to what the same men could have obtained by their talents at a period the most favourable for literature."—SISMONDI, p. 330.

"This tendency" (to argue from the possession of spiritual to that of temporal authority) "was increased by the fact that the spiritual order, at this time, comprehended all the intelligence of the age, every possible development of the human mind. There was but one science—*theology*; but one spiritual order—the *theological*. All the other sciences—rhetoric, arithmetic, music, &c.—centered in theology."

"The spiritual power finding itself thus in possession of all the intelligence of the age, at the head of all intellectual activity, was naturally enough led to arrogate to itself the general government of the world."—GUIZOT, *Modern Civilization*, p. 159.

All which seems to amount to this—that the times afforded ample scope and temptation for the investment of the best talents in the clerical profession, as the surest road to wealth, power, and honour.

"They had hair as the hair of women."

There seems a strange incongruity betwixt the crowns of gold and the hair of women; that is to say, betwixt domination the most imperious and so marked a subjection to authority, a subjection which left its subjects as free in one respect as locusts "which have no king over them."

And yet, improbable or even incompatible as the combination may appear, we find it most exactly verified in that body of men to whom the other features so strangely attach.

"During the period in question," says Planck, "the relations betwixt Church and State became *in some respects* even more favourable for the State than formerly."

And here comes in a matter no less weighty than that of *Investiture*.

"On the confirmation of a bishop's election, or on the independent appointment of a bishop, there followed immediately the solemn delivery of the bishopric, and infeoffment into all the privileges and powers thereto belonging, commonly called the investiture. This, at the same time, bound the new bishop to fidelity and obedient service towards his landlord. The ordinary emblem of this was the reaching or sending the bishop's staff, which still preceded the confirmation."—SCHROECKH, vol. xxii. pp. 416-434.

How Hildebrand regarded all this we have seen already.

"The Church lands were, as a general rule, subject to the ordinary taxes. For each church there was excepted only the *mansus ecclesiasticus*. Whatever attempts the Church might make to rid itself of the ordinary state burdens, yet could it never entirely succeed, as soon as it became implicated in the bonds of the feudal constitution."

Such was *the peculiar circumstance* which in this, as in so many other relations, most directly secured *a dependence upon the State*.

"This, their new relation then, the bishops themselves favoured. For by becoming feudatories of the State they acquired for their possessions all the security that the royal power could command. At the same time the prince, as feudal lord, obtained some important rights over the clergy." "Thus he acquired a new right to interfere with all their affairs, and especially with all their trade. He had also a new right of the highest juridical power in all their contentions. He had also a new power of

punishment by which he could always in one way make them deeply feel; namely, by the appropriation of their feudal property." "The bishops were thus in a new relation *creatures of the kings*, from which it may be understood how, through the counteracting influence of this single circumstance, all their exertions to render themselves and the Church independent of the secular power could never completely succeed."*

The wonder, indeed, is how, with the authority to which they had attained, they should still have been under such subjection.† But for such surprise we are prepared by the very first glance at the symbolic picture. And the same sentiment is also the first expressed by the writer, who gives us this insight into the Church constitution of those days, as he passes from the one view to the other.

"So much more room for surprise is there," says he, in the words already quoted, "if, *in spite of this counteracting principle of their feudal subjection*, we shall see them make so many other efforts *to gain for the Church a superiority over the State which it had never hitherto possessed*."

It is remarkable, indeed, how little attempt was made—whether that they considered it hopeless or undesirable—to get rid of their civil subjection.

"*They had no wish*," they said on one occasion, "*to get out of their feudal relations with the State*; they only desired that, out of regard to *their higher spiritual dignity*, the ordinary formalities might be dispensed with on *their entrance into the feudal position*."

* PLANCE, vol. iii. chap. iv.

† The bishops sometimes overstepped the lines allowed to them even in those days. Thus we read that, "emboldened by their success in their treatment of Charles *the Bald*, they dared to present to the assembly at Epernai *canons or statutes which appeared to make them sole arbiters of the State*." In this they were exceeding their commission. They had *actually* "*hair of women*," and only *as it were* "*crowns of gold*." They were *locusts* after all, *not lords*. So "*the king drove them from the assembly, when the business was transacted without them*."—VELLY, vol. ii. p. 76.

The locusts must maintain the hair of women; and yet what more natural than that they should seek to veil it with their golden crowns! In this, however, they did not succeed.

“The hint was not taken, and Hincmar, its author, was even forced in his old age, from suspicions of his loyalty, to take the obnoxious oath a second time. But though they failed in this, yet they succeeded in obtaining for *the temporal lord*, who in their person was united with *the spiritual*, more consideration and influence than heretofore.”

Thus by a strange religio-political fiction *one person* becomes *two parties*, and the paradox is explained which had combined an almost unbounded lordliness with this amount of subjection. Thus, in spite of bishops and kings alike, each feature in the prophetic picture stands out unimpaired and unconcealed—“the hair of women” with “the faces of men,” and, “as it were, crowns of gold.”

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE MISERABLE CHARACTER OF THE LOCUST PERIOD.

"In those days shall men seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them."

HAVING already seen, from the symbols, what to expect as a fair realization of this feature of the case, we now enquire whether there was any such character attaching to the times that we have been reviewing. That they were miserable indeed is only too evident from what we now know of them. But were they essentially characterized by any such extreme and peculiar misery as that here indicated? Such is the question, and now for the answer.

"These were times," says Mr. Hallam, summing up the history of the Carolingian dynasty, "of great misery to the people, and the worst perhaps that Europe has ever known." "Evils still more terrible than these political abuses were the lot of those nations who had been subject to Charlemagne. They indeed may appear to us little better than ferocious barbarians; but they were exposed to the assaults of tribes in comparison of whom they must be deemed humane and polished. Each frontier of the Empire had to dread the attack of an enemy. The coasts of Italy were continually alarmed by the Saracens of Africa, who possessed themselves of Sicily and Sardinia, and became masters of the Mediterranean Sea. Though the great dominions in the south of Italy were chiefly exposed to them, they twice insulted and ravaged the territory of Rome (846-9); nor was there any security even in the neighbourhood of the

maritime Alps, where, early in the 10th century, they settled a piratical colony." *

"*Much more formidable* were the foes by whom Germany was assailed. At the end of the 9th century the Hungarians, a Tartar tribe, over-spreading the country which has since borne their name, and moving forward like a vast cloud, brought a *dreadful reverse upon Germany. Their numbers were great, their ferocity untamed. . . . The memory of Attila was renewed in the devastations of these savages. . . . All Italy, all Germany, and the south of France, felt this scourge, till Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great drove them back within their own limits. . . . If any enemies could be more destructive than these Hungarians they were the pirates of the North, the Normans.*"†—HALLAM, chap. i. part i.

"France was ravaged at once by the arms of the Normans and the private wars of the lords. There was to be seen on all sides nothing but towns and hamlets in flames, and men wandering about *seeking in vain for some refuge*. So many disorders concentrated, if I may so speak, the

* "From the year 876 the Saracens maintained themselves for forty years in a stronghold on the Liris, not far from Rome, from which they made daily incursions into the Roman territories, and kept the city itself in a manner blocked up, so that none could visit the tombs of the apostles without the danger of being either murdered or carried captive by these barbarians."—BOWER's *Popes*, vol. v. p. 90.

† The Normans took Rouen in 841; Nantes and Saintes, in 843; Bourdeaux, in 843 and 848; Paris, in 845, 856; Tours, in 853; Blois, in 854; Orleans, in 856, &c.

Under Charles *the Fat* "the Normans ravaged all the country south of the Rhine, from the sea to Mentz; Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle, with other cities, were reduced to ashes; the palace of Charlemagne was converted into a stable, and continued so for eight years." Charles besieged these enemies in their camp at Maestricht, and when they were about to evacuate a position no longer tenable, he gave them 2,400 pounds of silver for doing so. With another party of Normans who had ascended the Seine, Charles *the Bald*, in 866, concluded a treaty, agreeing, when they ceased their depredations, to pay them 4,000 pounds weight of silver—to deliver up, or make compensation, for all the French who, after falling into their hands, had escaped—and to pay a certain sum for every Norman that had been killed by the French. (See *Penny Cyclopædia*, vi. 502, and White's *Universal History*, p. 264.) With such behaviour on the part of the king, we may know what to expect in the condition of the people.

attention of each individual upon himself. As no protection was expected from a government which was extinct, no one thought but of his own security, and became insensible to the public evils.* Or in the striking language of Michelet, in regard to the same period: "*Men abjure and execrate each other; they will admit no mutual recognition. Every one says, Who are my brethren? and all fix themselves in lonely repulsiveness.*" † (vol. i. p. 257.)

That the clergy had a large share in contributing to this miserable state of things is unhappily too certain. Thus we read that

"the great extension of the sacerdotal power during the reign of the Carlovingians was not one of the least causes of the universal weakening of the Western Empire, and of the loss of its military spirit. The importance of the priests had advanced not only by the increase of their riches and their numbers, but by the enfeeblement of the other orders of the State. . . . When an opulent family became extinct, a part of its property passed by inheritance to another family already rich in lands. The rest, and often the most considerable part, according to the piety of the testator, passed to the Church, and that Church, which incessantly acquired and could never alienate, saw at each generation and every year the augmentation of the lands over which it had some rights." The influence of this was soon felt. "In the domains of the Church—and these formed in the middle of the ninth century perhaps more than half of France—all the influence of habit, of example, and of teaching, was employed to extinguish the national courage. It was to the protection of relics, never to that of their own hands, that the faithful were called to have recourse in all dangers." . . . "Hence" (speaking of the people generally) "all

* Velly, *Histoire de France*, book ii. chap. iv.

† Here is another statement of the same: "The Saracen wasted the Mediterranean coasts, and sacked Rome herself. The Dane and Norseman swept the Atlantic and the North Sea, pierced France and Germany by their rivers, burning, slaying, carrying off into captivity; pouring through the Straits of Gibraltar, they fell upon Provence and Italy. By land, while Wends and Czechs and Obotrites threw off the German yoke, and threatened the borders, the wild Hungarian bands, pressing in from the Steppes of the Caspian, dashed over Germany like the flying spray of a new wave of barbarism, and carried the terror of their battle-axes to the Apennines and the ocean."—Dr. BRYCE, p. 78.

were disarmed, all had lost resolution, as well as the necessary strength to defend their lives, and that small remnant of their property which the nobility still left them.”—SISMONDI, pp. 323-9.

As an illustration of the state of the law in those times, we find on one occasion certain notorious brigands brought before an assembly over which the emperor (Charles the Bald) was presiding. The brigands are simply commended to the instruction of the bishops and abbots, that they may be convinced of the impropriety of their conduct. If after all they still persevere in their evil ways, the king and assembly (composed of prelates and a small number of *grandeess*) threaten them with *excommunication*.

“Thus did the national and royal authority become annihilated, and thus the bishops alone then disposed of the temporal power.”*

And such were the days of that dark priest-rule that some among ourselves look back to so wistfully—the days when monks were willing to take the credit of feeding, if not of instructing, a pauper caste, ever ready to work like slaves for the enriching and beautifying of *their* lands. Such, indeed, is the spell which romance has thrown over the system, that many even of honest minds have a strange difficulty in emancipating themselves from it. It is a manlier and truer spirit surely which writes thus:

“The period which we are about to survey” (says Sismondi, coming to the period 888-912) “*cannot perhaps be compared with any other for calamities, weakness, and shame*. Although warlike valour is far from being the first of the social virtues, its complete annihilation is perhaps the most certain sign of the destruction of all the others. . . . *The*

* SISMONDI, p. 338.

*history of the universe does not present an example of pusillanimity which we can compare to that of the subjects of the Western Empire, when they suffered themselves to be pillaged, taken captive, and slaughtered by the Normans."**

If such then was the extremity of wretchedness, if such the hopeless misery prevailing so widely at that time, the state of the people must have come just too near the picture, "In those days shall men seek death," &c. We know that it is by no means uncommon for people in extreme misery to long for the death which is to end their temporal suffering. How common then must such a longing have been in those days of European wretchedness. The conclusion is simply inevitable, that many must then have longed for death without being able to find it; and longed still again, and longed in vain.

* *Ibid.* p. 385.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE LOCUST PERIOD.

"They shall hurt men five months."

HAVING stated above what we take to be the idea thus indicated, namely, a considerable period cut short in the middle, it only remains that we enquire how far this feature of the case finds a counterpart in the actual history.

Now we have already seen (chap. xvii.) that there was a marked distinction between the post-Charlemagne Carolingian period and that which both preceded and followed it. The period with which we have now had to do was emphatically the age of the higher clergy, and of these as acting in a very peculiar style. To such action there were happily some bright exceptions; but, taken as a class, the character of those men was what we have seen, and their action such as entirely to characterize their period. It is in short a strange episode in the history of Europe that we have been contemplating, cut off by distinct lines at once from behind and before. The great peculiarity, it will be observed, in the position of those Churchmen lies in their relation to their own princes and to the Popes respectively, with the natural result as regards their action

upon the people. The history of this is the history of the episode, to relate which is to show the lines that mark out its period. To what has been adduced already we now add a little, as the only means of doing justice to the important question as to the *time*.

Towards the end of the tenth century, then, there came a very marked change in the position of the higher clergy in the West. For a considerable time they had been in the exercise of a large portion of independent authority. The influence of the Pope had no doubt increased even during the period that we have been reviewing, and most notably under Nicolas I. But this was chiefly with the princes; that the bishops were not yet prepared to submit to papal dictation the history of the times very decisively shows.

Thus in 875 the Pope (John VIII.) "tried to persuade Charles *the Bald* that the best means of controlling both bishops and lords was to have always beside him a vicar of the holy see. This the bishops strongly opposed, as contrary to the ancient decrees." (VELLY, vol. ii. p. 115.) In 878 this Pope "presented at a Council at Troyes a pretended donation of certain abbeys, which, as he said, the same Charles had made to the Church of St. Peter. The bishops rejected it with indignation, and the Pope withdrew the claim."—*Ibid.*

As to the Pope's part in the first of the revolutions under Louis *le Debonair*, Gregory IV., we are told,

"appears to have had a very small share in these transactions; his game must then have been much of an underhand sort. And as little, in the next Frank revolution, was it in his power to play a principal part." This Pope "had come to France to abet the sons of Louis in their rebellion, and, having threatened to excommunicate the bishops who adhered to the emperor, was repelled by them with indignation. If he comes here to excommunicate, said they, he shall go hence excommunicated."—SCHROEBER, vol. xxii., and HALLAM, vol. i. p. 348.

Another case is worthy of mention. In 870 Carloman had rebelled against his father, Charles *the Bald*, and being taken prisoner was kept in confinement, when, at the instance of the Pope, Adrian II., he was recalled to Court. Again he rebelled, fled to Belgium, and gathering about him bands of outlaws, went about ravaging the country. At length, fearing the vengeance of the bishops, he applied to the Pope, who took him under his patronage, and wrote to the king in his favour. The king was more cruel, he said, than the brutes themselves, that spare their young; and it was now high time for him to change his behaviour, and restore his son to all his dignities. Yes, and the lords and bishops also must look to themselves; for, if they dare to bear arms against Carloman, it is *on pain of excommunication and eternal damnation*. The end of the matter was that Carloman being again taken was condemned to death, and had his eyes put out, the Pope being simply ignored.

In the following year occurred another affair, in which the Pope came off even worse. The younger Hincmar, bishop of Laon, after acting a part utterly outrageous, had been deposed by a council of Gallican bishops, including his uncle, the renowned archbishop of the same name. The deposed appealed to Rome, and the Pope ordered him to be sent there for a new trial. This demand was answered by the king and his bishops in language the plainest and strongest possible.

"This law," they tell him, "hell itself has vomited from its dark subterraneous pits, to lead us astray from the path pointed out to us in Scripture. . . . If the orders of the Holy See accord with Scripture,

tradition, and the laws of the Church, we are prepared to comply ; but if contrary to these, then know that we are not to be frightened into submission by any threats of excommunication or anathema."

The Pope, now seeing that he had made a mistake, and that he had better give up young Hincmar than the whole of the Gallican Church and Court too, sends to apologise for his letters, as written by his secretary when he was sick! And yet, though thus obliged to accept of the deposition of Hincmar, he would not consent to the election of a successor; and so the see of Laon continued vacant for five years to come. (See BOWER, v. pp. 27-34.) Thus the Pope could do much in those days, though not all that he would. The Roman sun was shining, but it was still eclipsed.

Thus in the numerous and violent struggles in which these two parties were engaged at that time, the Popes, it would seem, had to retrace their steps quite as often as the bishops themselves. In accordance with which circumstance we can distinctly trace in the latter the true locust feature of "going forth in bands"—which they certainly did—without any acknowledged leader. They might choose for the occasion a Hincmar of Rheims, or an Arnold of Orleans; but as yet they had *no king*. And all this is the more remarkable, considering the large advances that the Papal authority had already made in the same region.

Thus "Boniface, Apostle of Germany and of the Pope, is called *missus S. Petri*. As such he held councils, founded bishoprics, introduced the Roman Church constitution, persecuted those who refused to receive it, and subjected in general the German Church to the Pope." . . . "But at his death this state of things ceased for long in Germany. The bishops

of these countries still exercised a large share of their own rights.”
—SCHROBOKH, vol. xxii. p. 465.

But the season of all free action was coming to an end. In words already quoted, “The episcopal aristocracy had broken down in the attempt to organize the Carlovingian world.”—MICHELET.

We may name the beginning of the last quarter of the tenth century as the period when this great depression occurred in the condition of the higher clergy. It appeared first in the French states; and if in the German portion of the old Carlovingian region the same phenomena did not then present themselves, we have only to remember the Hildebrandian policy, which was in full operation there shortly after the middle of the next century, in order to see how the clergy in that region also had ceased to be a “band having no king over it.”

This is the point, then, that we have now to substantiate—the great change that *had taken place* upon the Gallican clergy about twenty years before the end of the century, or say 150 years from the miserable degradation of the royal authority under Louis *le Debonair*. And this is the period which—if we believed in the year-day view of the *five months*—would so well meet that view.

The quotations necessary for our purpose may not be as interesting as we could wish, but if we be on the right track, their importance cannot be overestimated.

Our first quotation is from the Abbé de Mably, in continuation of the passage given above (chap. xxi. p. 301) as descriptive of what we have taken for the closing up of the locust ravages in that region.

"The usurpations of the ecclesiastics produced a most extraordinary event; *they rendered the Pope the first and most powerful magistrate of the kingdom.*" And thus was effected a "*revolution which all the other states of Christendom equally experienced.*"

The next passage, from a historian of France, has reference primarily to the same region.

"In the rude tenth century the priesthood had been completely trodden down. . . . The national clergy were utterly unable to withstand their powerful lay brethren. The crown, their natural protector, was not in a condition to aid them. In this state of helplessness they looked to the Pope of Rome for support. There they applied; thither they appealed. . . . From near and temporal tyranny they appealed to the far and the spiritual. *The Popes took advantage of the movement, and soon erected thereon their supreme and infallible authority.* . . . The priesthood throughout Europe, who, had they been independent and uninjured at the beginning of the eleventh century, would have been inclined to resist the growing authority of their superior of Rome, in the then dire and spoliated state of the Church seconded it with all their might."—CROWE, *History of France*, p. 31.

That is to say, had it not been for the locust acquisitions previously made by the clergy, the Pope's interference would not have been needed.

Speaking of the change which occurred at the same period, the careful historian of the Church constitution quoted above says:

"§ 14. In the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries there came about a change in this respect. The power of the secular lords was substantial and hereditary; that of the bishops lay much in opinion. Hence it became necessary for them to seek support from without.

"§ 16. Under the weak government of the last of the Carlovingians, and the confusion that preceded the accession of the new dynasty (967), the bishops made strenuous efforts to exercise the same wide and lawless power which was becoming so common among the barons. In this they had a partial and temporary success."

"§ 17. But as soon as, under the new dynasty, the royal authority had recovered itself, these prospects were at an end. The temporal lords now exerted themselves to recover those lordly rights (*Herren-rechte*) which the bishops had been exercising in their dioceses. The bishops, too weak to resist, had recourse to the throne for a support for which they had to pay dear. And so it came about that, in the course of the next period, *there remained but little to the French bishops of the greater royal prerogatives (regalien) which even in this period they had assumed.*"—PLANCK, vol. iii. pp. 470-499.

Another extract will not be superfluous :

"The frame of Church government, which had lasted from the 3rd or 4th century, was nearly dissolved. . . . Hincmar, a man equal in ambition, and almost in public estimation, to any pontiff, sometimes came off successfully in his contentions with Rome. But time is fatal to *the unanimity of coalitions* ; the French bishops were accessible to superstitious prejudice, to corrupt influence, to mutual jealousy. Above all, they were conscious that a *persuasion of the Pope's omnipotence had taken hold of the laity*. Though they complained loudly, and invoked, like patriots of a dying state, names and principles of a freedom that was no more, they submitted almost in every instance to the continual usurpations of the Holy See."—HALLAM'S *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 348.

All this then seems to point plainly to a long period of a character much resembling our locust one—this being very decisively cut off from another period, of which the one unquestionable feature was *Romish domination*. The following sentences from the Abbé de Mably will introduce us to the crisis as it happened at the close of the Carlovingian period.

"In former times the Gallic Church, although recognizing the primacy of the Holy See, and keeping itself attached to it as a centre of union, had never gone the length (unless it was in the time of Boniface) of adopting the canons of the council of Sardica, which from the fourth century had authorized appeals to the Pope, and subjected the bishops to his jurisdiction." But "when Hugh Capet mounted the throne, the

sovereign pontiffs no longer treated the bishops as their brothers and co-operators in the work of God, but as delegates, or simple vicars of their sees. They had assumed the prerogative of transferring them from one church to another; of judging them, or of restoring them to their functions; of investigating and reforming the decisions of their tribunals."

"All that the bishops of France had usurped over the jurisdiction of the lords *thus turned to the profit of the See of Rome*. The Popes took cognizance not only of appeals from Metropolitans, but encouraged appeals from the lowest courts, or even applications from individuals."

"The authority which the bishops had acquired might have been useful to the French in contributing to establish a policy and order to which the feudal jurisdiction was opposed. But the usurpation of the court of Rome over the jurisdiction of the bishops only augmented the confusion of the kingdom."

"There was no end of processes, and the Popes had no regard but to their own private interests, or the passions of a power which was essaying to *establish all over Christendom the most imperious domination*."—*DE MABLY*, book iii., chap. iv. pp. 31-47.

It was in the year 987 that the Carlovingian dynasty was extinguished, and Hugh Capet mounted the throne. Now if it was some time before this, as De Mably points out, that the Popes assumed the position just described by him, that time was certainly very short. So desperate had been the corruption and anarchy of the court of Rome during the first three-quarters at least of the century that the marvel is how it maintained its place and pretensions in the world at all. That the thunders of the Vatican, in words already quoted, should "murmur with extreme faintness, or altogether sleep for above a century"—counting from about the year 878—was only the natural result of a state of things enough to have annihilated any court in the world but that of Rome. At length the Vatican aroused itself, and France, its first

and greatest friend, was the first to tremble at its thunder. The occasion was this: Hugh Capet, in the hope of attaching to himself the chief members of the Carolingian party, had appointed to the archbishopric of Rheims Arnulf, natural brother to Charles, the heir and claimant of the throne. Arnulf having repaid this favour by handing over his city to the same Charles, Hugh—taking what seemed the readiest plan of settling the matter—wrote to the Pope, John XV., asking for a sentence of deposition against the offender—since “to him alone belonged the jurisdiction over bishops”—the first time such an admission had been made by a French prince. And at the same time a number of the bishops of the diocese addressed a similar petition to the Pope, apologizing that they had for so long in France *made no application to the Holy See*. This was in 989. The act itself was important in a very high degree, and its consequences were still more so. In the very application there was the admission that the bishops making it (and in this they were but a sample of their brethren generally) were not now what they had been. Their lordly power was gone; their spirit was broken; the crown had fallen from their head. Full well they knew what was meant by such an appeal. They knew how the minutest act of submission was magnified at Rome, and how those judicial offices, on which their wealth and influence now depended, were imperilled by the advancement in their domain of the foreign despot.

But hazardous as was the step, it was also inevitable. Those who took it had already exhausted themselves,

while Rome was becoming too powerful, and their own country too impatient, to allow them a longer tenure of independent existence. And so the bishops lay themselves at the feet of the Pope. The locusts choose for themselves a king, and in doing so cease to be locusts. Henceforth, on this new footing they must act, as the obedient servants of another; and ere long will that other display himself as the master ravager and plague of the nations.

The consequences of the step were such as to realize all these dangers. Humble though the king and bishops had shown themselves, and irresistible as the appeal seemed, it was not convenient for the Pope to grant it. At length the new king, now firmly established on the throne, and thinking—after nearly two years of waiting on the Pope—that he might at last venture to act independently, calls together the bishops of his kingdom, and has Arnulf deposed. By the members of this synod there was displayed an amazing freedom of speech. Some even hinted that the Pope was the Antichrist, who was “to sit in the temple of God,” &c. Better consult, if they must have advice, the bishops of Germany and Belgium, said some, than the bishop of this new Babylon. But these, though strong words, were words only—the dying bravado of a vanquished man.* The Pope in his turn pronounced sentence of suspension upon all who thus dared to call in question his prerogative. All this King Hugh took quietly. Gerbert, on the other hand, the new Archbishop of Rheims, “the most remarkable personage of his times,”

* See the speech of Arnold of Orleans, p. 225, above.

enraged with the Pope by whom now *he* had been deposed, was filling France and Germany with his invectives.* But all was in vain. To loud words the wily Pope opposed bold deeds; and, while seeming to let the matter rest, was secretly paving the way for inevitable victory.

“By means of his monastic agents, he caused to be sown throughout the kingdom the seeds of a universal discontent with the king; in addition to which there was set up before the people the fearful prospect of themselves being overtaken with that Bann which already lay on their bishops. Ere long the monarch saw his entire kingdom in a violent fermentation; and the loud cry of the nation, that there must be reconciliation, first taught him the cause of it.”

It was plain from all this whose was now the privilege to dictate, and the power to torment, in the country where the locusts with the scorpion stings had so long done according to their pleasure. Submission was at length a necessity; and the French bishops, who were too weak to avert it, were too proud to appear at the time and place appointed for their yielding. Gerbert alone had the spirit to show himself on the occasion; and it was only *at the instance of “the German bishops who were present”* (let us mark the range of the new influence) that even he was brought to yield to the Papal demands.

In the course of the proceedings to which the circumstance gave rise Hugh died, and his son Robert felt himself compelled by the discontent of the nation finally to submit to the Pope.

This was, says Planck, from whom we take the account:

* See GIESELER, vol. ii. p. 357, and BOWER, vol. v. p. 129.

"A highly important victory in itself; and, through certain circumstances connected with it, it obtained an additional importance of the most permanent character" (einige umstände durch die er noch unendlich bedeutender wurde).—Vol. iii. pp. 296-326.

Thus we suggest the Carlovingian period after Charlemagne as the season of the locust ravages. If in some countries the party that we have pointed to continued its special activity longer, then so much can be added to its time there. And this will be no more than is common among locusts—to leave one place for another. It must be well considered, however, before coming to such a conclusion, whether in that activity we can really trace the locust of this first woe; for there must be not only the locust mouth, but the scorpion sting, and something more. But whatever, after the strictest inquiry, may turn out to be the truth in regard to this, we have always two great boundary lines for the period. It does not commence till after the removal of the strong arm of Charlemagne, and it cannot continue after the uplifting of the stronger arm of Hildebrand; the interval, as we have seen, between these two weighty events being strongly marked by all the historians as a season notable above all things for *clerical encroachment and domination*.

CHAPTER XXV.

IMMUNITY OF THE SEALED COMPANY.

"It was commanded them that they should hurt only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads."

THERE would, it seems, be holy men even in those days of corruption, men who by their faithfulness would naturally provoke the enmity of the locusts; but all such are divinely secured from the attacks which might have seemed inevitable. They may, in loyalty to their king, oppose the surrounding evil, and strive to light up the all-enveloping darkness; no scorpion sting shall trouble them. It was not so always, nor would it long continue so. Ages before the darkness had become so dense there was no toleration for the Protestants of the day. Even Church fathers like Jerome and Ambrose did their utmost to hurt and crush Christian preachers like Jovinian and Vigilantius. No sooner had the Papal missionaries established themselves in England than the British Christians had much to endure at their hands. Nor with Boniface in Germany was it safe to diverge from Romish ways. And so, as soon as the locust period was over, it became dangerous again for any one to resist the dominant Church. This appeared plainly at the Synod of Arras, in the beginning of the eleventh century; while in the age follow-

ing even a Bernard could impeach and persecute an earnest Christian monk like Henry of Cluny, and employ his unexampled influence to bring him under the Papal rod. But during the locust period itself, strange as it may seem, it was far otherwise.* Yes, and the more so that the sealed ones, so far as their history has reached us, belonged almost entirely to the very class that gave forth the terrible locusts. The churches and monasteries that furnished the one, nourished in their bosoms the other also.

Of the witnesses for the truth in those days the most conspicuous is Claude of Turin—"the Protestant of the ninth century." Of all the superstitions of the age he spared none. He wrote and preached incessantly against pilgrimages, merit of works, intercession of saints. He swept his churches clean of images and relics, beseeching all to bear the cross rather than worship it; while of the Petro-papal claims he made short work by the argument, that Peter received no *continuous* power to bind and loose, since Christ did *not* say, "What thou *shalt* loose in heaven shall be loosed on *earth*." For such a course of action the multitude was enraged with him, the Pope fanning the flame, and the bishops calling him to answer before them.

* The bitter persecution of the monk Gottschalk by Hincmar, in the ninth century, may seem an exception to this principle, but it was not so really. The whole matter was a dispute simply about the amount of predestinarianism taught by Augustine, and reminds one of nothing so much as the discussions in another place (though without their calmness) on the same overwhelming theme, as they

"Reasoned high
Of providence, foreknowledge, will and fate—
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute;
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost."

—*Paradise Lost*, book ii.

This summons he declined, and, after presiding over the See of Turin from 814 to 839, he died unhurt, leaving many disciples behind him, by some of whom, at least, we may believe the same truths to have been taught and practices maintained; while yet there is no appearance of such disciples having, any more than their master, suffered from the scorpion stings.

Besides this bright example of a Christian bishop, we have interesting accounts of several who in those days strove for the purification of monasteries, and called their fellow men from the excess of superstition and formality to God and Christ. Such were Odo, Abbot of Cluny (died 942); Nilus of Rossano, in Calabria (1005), and, in the middle of the ninth century, the monk Otfried, of Weissenburg, who put forth the gospels in a poetical form, "that the praise of Christ might be sung in German, and the truths of the Bible so entering the mind might be reduced to practice." But of these and various others we say no more, because, though thus striving after important changes in the prevailing religion, we cannot say that their style of action was really dangerous to themselves at the time, or would even have exposed them to Papal wrath in after times, as is so clear in the case of the faithful Claude. There was one, indeed, in the ninth century who came nearer to him in his style of action than we can discern in the others—Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons—a man, says Neander, "warmly zealous for the essence of the pure Christian worship of God." But Agobard, alas! was one of the main supporters of the sons of the Debonair in their parricidal atrocities—"a

dark spot," says the same amiable writer, "on the fair fame even of an Agobard." Yes; and such a spot, we fear, as betokens fellowship with the locusts themselves, rather than with the sealed few whom they had no power to hurt.*

ON THE SARACENIC REFERENCE OF THE FIFTH TRUMPET.

OUT of respect for the numerous holders of this view, it seems only right to give some of our reasons for passing it by, as we have done.

(1) We can find nothing in it at all answering to the *star*. To interpret that of Satan is too loose. To point to the monk Sergius is too low. To name Mahommed is to forget that, if a star at all, he was a *rising*, not a *fallen* one, at the date in question, nor indeed is he fallen yet.

(2) We cannot understand how the locusts did *not kill*, but only *torment* men, *in their failing to extinguish the Eastern Empire*, when all the time they were chiefly notorious *just for killing, not for tormenting*.

(3) The locusts were to hurt only the *unsealed*; but the Saracens made no distinction for *character*, any more than for *class*. Their principle was to destroy all who *resisted* them, including presumably the most Christian of the population, and to spare those only who submitted by paying tribute, or accepting Islam. Who could have imagined that the sparing of the sealed would ever have been referred to the deliverance from the Saracens by Charles Martel of that region which, in after ages, was to become famous as the abode of Waldensian Christians?

(4) We fail to see that creatures *like war-horses* can stand as a *symbol* of *actual war-horses*.

(5) "Hair of women" can never, we think, be a *symbol* of *long Arab hair*, even allowing that to be an object worthy of a place in the *second woe*.

(6) Nor can "crowns as it were of gold" symbolize *yellow turbans*, even though these had been of more importance than they were.

Will Christian readers reflect on these points, and venture to seek for a worthy meaning in the language of the Apocalypse, irrespectively of the names of men?

* See the account of those who aimed at religious reformation, during the ninth and tenth centuries, in Neander, vol. vi. 101-160.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SIXTH TRUMPET.

Symbols.

THE Trumpet is a woe—a judgment, and embraces the prophetic period down to the resurrection of the Witnesses. (xi. 14.) It is only the portion, however, referring to the Euphratean horsemen that we profess to enter upon here.

And now, strange as it may seem, the scene thus presented comes in direct connection with accepted prayer. For the voice which calls for the loosing of the four angels issues “from the four horns of the golden altar before God.” That the angels thus loosed are evil (xii. 7) needs no proof. Their work of destruction shows that they are the servants of Apollyon; and the lion-mouthed, serpent-tailed, instruments by which the work is done prove them to be servants worthy of such a master. It is a great mystery, indeed, how in the divine government of this world there is so close a linking of the good and the bad, the saintly and the Satanic. It is enough for us that the Scripture may be said to be actually full of reference to such a connection.

Certain instruments, then, necessary for the terrible work in hand have been bound for a time, and are now

to be let loose. They have been under anxious preparation for some tremendous business of "killing," and to this they are now to go forth unhindered.

Mark the locality of this binding and loosing. It is at "the great river Euphrates." But, as we have had occasion to say already, where "Babylon the Great" is, there also must "the great river Euphrates" be. Only those who are looking for a literal Babylon are entitled to speak of a literal Euphrates. There can be no more of geography, and there must be just as much of symbol, in the one as in the other. Thus, if the Apocalyptic Babylon be "that great city which beareth rule over the kings of the earth" (xvii. 18), even Rome, the head of the fourth and last of the world-empires, then in close association with that must be the Apocalyptic Euphrates. And, as if to leave the least possible doubt as to the symbolic locality of "the great river," with its lion-mouthed horsemen, we find that the beast with the seven heads and ten horns is also lion-mouthed (xiii. 2); that is to say, the monster which, by its mouth, is allied with the prophetic symbol of the original Babylon (Dan. vii. 4) is, by its head and horns, identified with the Roman power.

Verse 16. "*The four angels,*" &c. And why four? Because, as we might answer, they act in all directions from the great Euphratean centre; and the answer, scripturally regarded, would not be altogether inadmissible. And yet it would be hardly satisfactory. Something more definite seems designed, which therefore should be sought for in the fulfilment.

And for what were they loosed? "*That they might*

slay the third part of men." The "slaying" will be considered below. The "third part" must be taken according to the principle explained under the first trumpet. We are not of course to think, here more than there, of a third part as repeated for each generation of the woe-period. The natural view is, that the prophetic eye is fixed simply on the mass as presenting itself at some definite period, of which mass it measures off a third part.

Those angels, we are told, "were (*had been*) prepared for (*with a view to*) the hour, and day, and month, and year." Now this seems, whether we can trace them quite exactly or not, to indicate certain events of an extremely definite character; and that definiteness seems to involve not only the combination of the various times, but their separation also. It seems as if, somehow or other, contemporaneously or successively, and with or without an interval, there were such times allotted for the killing work of the four angels; namely, "*the hour*," or short period, "*and day*," or moderate period, "*and month*," or considerable period, "*and year*," or protracted period.

Of such a work, for such a period, the four angels are the directors, being commanders of a very extraordinary host, levied and equipped for this war, and one which, in ordinary language, would be called *innumerable*. Nor did the seer attempt to *reckon* it; for, says he, "*I heard* the number of them"—a number which amounts to the appalling sum of two myriads of myriads; *i.e.* two hundred millions.

Myriads of what? Of horsemen, but horsemen where

the men count for but little, and the *horses* are practically everything—the very minute picture being almost entirely occupied with *these*, the whole business being achieved by *them*, while the riders are but incidentally mentioned, and apparently just to show that there was such a party.

Can we think, then, that troops of horsemen in the Apocalypse, and so remarkably characterized, instead of being symbolical of something else, are simply squadrons of flesh and bone cavalry, Turkish or otherwise? The question seems to furnish its own negative, and that negative we accept. What then *are* the horsemen? Let us answer, first, for the principal party, the *horses*. Now these, in Scripture symbolism, stand out with great distinctness as expressive of *superhuman* agency; the idea of course being that there is *thus* supplied the impetus needful for the human instrumentality. Thus, in Zech. i. 8–10, the man on the *red* horse, with the horses red, speckled, and white behind him, are plainly significant of certain spiritual ministers of divine providence—"we have walked to and fro through the earth"—the colours being designed to indicate the character of certain impending visitations. (*Cf. v. 10 with Job i. 7.*) Again, in Zech. vi. 1–8, we have a symbolical view of chariots and horses issuing from between mountains of brass, and they are nothing less than "four spirits of the heavens, which go forth from standing before the Lord of all the earth." So in the Apocalypse the horses in the five seals will be best explained by supposing an essential superhuman agency in connection with the human, prominent as the latter there is. And if in chap. xix. the armies of heaven

follow the Lamb on white horses, it seems extremely reasonable to regard the horsemen myriads here as largely consisting of the armies of hell, whatever the human element combined with these may prove to be.

There are at least two things that very specially point us in this direction :

1. *The vastness of the multitude.* In vain shall we seek among mere earthly agents for such a company. We may speak of the *definite* as put for the *indefinite* ; and of that we have instances in this Apocalypse ; but these, instead of supporting, rather militate against any such analogy. On the other hand, it is the constant style of Scripture, when going beyond units, to represent the company of angelic beings, good and bad, as something very great. Thus "the mountain is full of horses of fire, and chariots of fire, round about Elisha." (2 Kings vi. 17.) "The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels" (myriad-fold—Sept. Ps. lxxviii. 17). "Thousand thousands ministered unto Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand (myriads of myriads) stood before Him." (Dan. vii. 10.) "The number of these was myriads of myriads, and thousands of thousands."* (Rev. v. 11.) So when the troubled Saviour refers to heavenly help, He speaks of obtaining "more than twelve legions of angels." And if such be "the multitude of the heavenly host," there must be a reasonable correspondence with this in the numbers of that other host, which, under the dragon, dares to make war with it. (Rev. xii. 7.) Need we say what is suggested, as to number, by such expressions as,

* Cf. Jude v. 14, "The Lord cometh with His holy myriads."

"The prince of the power of the air, the rulers of the darkness of this world"? And if we would see how many of these evil spirits will put out their strength on what might seem to us too small a work for such a company, we have only to remember the legion of them entering into the one unhappy victim, and from him rushing into some two thousand swine.

2. If anything can be diabolical it is surely *the accoutrement and action of these horsemen*. Lions' heads and serpents' tails are irresistibly suggestive of the "roaring lion" and "the old serpent," while "fire, smoke, and brimstone" are never associated in these visions except as indications of infernal action. (xiv. 10, 11; xix. 20; xx. 10, 14; xxi. 8.)

The horses then are really no horses at all, but certain malign beings, whose characteristics are entirely devilish, though, for the sake of the vision, and because of their relation to human affairs, nothing answers so well as to give them that form, with those terrible adjuncts which tell what it all means.

As to the groundwork of the scene, it is not hard to discover it. In the old Babylon was a monarch who ruled over all around with the title of king of kings, and a sway professing to be universal. Was there then some important operation in hand, such as a rebellious province to be chastised, or a new one to be conquered? Then out goes the mandate for troops of horsemen to assemble from the pastures and stalls by the great river, and rush forth to execute the will of the king. They are servants of him who has said, "I am, and there is none beside me.

I will ascend into heaven ; I will exalt my throne above the stars of God ;" and ready instruments they are of such a monarch.

We come now to the killing work—" *Out of the horses' mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone.*" It reminds us of a certain man on his way to Damascus, "breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord," as one who was "exceeding mad against them." And so extremely definite are these three products of the horses' mouths as to point naturally—we could almost say necessarily—to three distinct things. For how can we make less of the strong language—" *By these three plagues was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and the smoke, and the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths*" ?*

Coming now from the instruments mentioned to the execution done by them, it becomes us to look well to the ground under our feet. And this we venture to lay down as the guiding principle of a right interpretation—namely, that the killing must be equivalent to what may otherwise be called the *extinction of life*, the life being variously regarded as *social, religious, or bodily*. Thus men would be *slain* if cut off from all the privileges of law and society, or, as we say, *outlawed* ; if shut out from all the advantages of religion, the object being to hand them over to the *horrors of the second death* ; or, once more and beyond all question, if *deprived of bodily life*.

Such an application of the word "killing" would be, we

* Can there be anything more humbling, in the attempts at prophetic interpretation, than to find writers, whom we truly honour, expounding this of *charcoal, sulphur, and saltpetre*, as the constituents of *gunpowder* for the feeding of *Turkish guns* !

apprehend, in entire accordance with Scripture usage. Thus it will be allowed by most that the "slaying" of the two witnesses (chap. xi.) can be no other than of a social, political, or ministerial character. And as the "earthquake," and "fall of the tenth part of the city," in the same connection, can hardly be regarded in any other light, it would apparently follow that on the same principle must be understood the "slaying of seven thousand names of men."

Other passages worthy of consideration, as apparently confirming this *relative* use of the language, are Ps. lxxxviii., where the psalmist, with other things in a similar style, says, "Thy terrors have *cut me off*." In Isa. lxvi. 15 the expression, "The Lord shall *slay thee*, and call His servants by another name," seems to include a great deal besides that bodily killing of which there would be so much; namely, the national rejection spoken of in Rom. xi. In Ezek. xxi. 3 we read, "I will cut off from thee the righteous and the wicked," though the excision is far from being the same in regard to these two parties. In Ezek. xxxvii. 11-14 it is plainly a *politically dead* state that is described (*cf.* Rom. xi. 15); the deliverance from this state, or life from the dead, being the same as that which is primarily in view in the declaration, "O death, I will be thy plagues." (Hosea xiii. 14.) As to *religious* slaying, there seems an example equally clear in the charge brought against the Jewish shepherds in Zech. xi. 5, "Whose possessors *slay* them, and hold themselves not guilty." So the "*cutting off*" of the shepherds, in the same connection (*v.* 8), can only refer to national or social extinction (*cf.*

Isa. xi. 4), the same, we may suppose, being the design of the dreadful curse in Zech. v. 3. Nor need we hesitate to refer to the expression, "This my son was *dead*, and is alive again," since it is clear that the father is not speaking of the moral condition, but of the *social relation* of his son.

The question, of course, will always remain—What need is there in this or that case for such an extension of the idea of killing? And the answer can only be supplied by the character of the passage itself. In the present case there seems more than a bare liberty allowed us to regard the "killing" as something not confined to the mere bodily sort. For observe again the killing instruments, and the peculiar stress laid upon them—"By these three plagues was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and the smoke, and the brimstone which issued out of their mouths."

It is natural, then, to suppose some specific difference in the killing act, as corresponding with the difference of these various means. The killing with fire, as a thing applied on this earth, will naturally express a distinct taking away of bodily life. The killing with *smoke* will express an operation less direct and distinct—something in the way of a lingering death by choking and stifling—a process very suggestive of what may be called a *civil* or *social extinction*. Then, as regards *brimstone*, nothing in Apocalyptic language speaks so expressly of the pit. Nothing tells so unequivocally of being banished from the place of blessing and given over to the curse. This, then, as the purest symbol for the *infernal*, would indicate the extremest form of cursing, as a deliberate consigning of the

unhappy victim to hell itself—thus exhibiting this third process as the intensest form of *religious killing*, it being always remembered that one man's killing of another's soul represents not what he *does*, but what he *would do*.

And here comes in one striking peculiarity of great value in the exposition. The killing or *offensive* armour of the horsemen consists, as we see, of smoke, fire, and brimstone, from the horses' mouths; besides which they are furnished with certain *defensive* armour as well. That is to say, terrible as they are, they shall not go through the world unchallenged; but, like other assailants, they will need to defend themselves. Of what, then, is this second armour composed? Of three elements again, two of them the same as before, but one different. As with fire and brimstone they kill, so with the same they defend themselves. In other words, they make it their aim when attacked to hurl back on their assailants a fresh measure of the original death-dealing material. So far there is no parleying, fencing, manœuvring, but downright striking back with the original armour. It is as if they proclaimed, "Here we are to kill, and kill we will! Yes; and if attacked, we will still kill, just as before, with the fire and the brimstone." So far the identity of means bespeaks unity of object; but there is the difference also. The horses attack with smoke; but not with that do they attempt any defence. Smoke is earthly, infernal, a thing of shame and confusion, not a matter to be held up for its own justification. In order to that the breastplate wants another element altogether, and that it finds in a splendid *jacinth*.

But what can this point to? We know of only one thing that can contribute to a reasonable answer. The jacinth is unknown in Scripture, except as one of the foundations of the heavenly city. (Chap. xxi. 20.) Now if we are able to ignore this circumstance we may do so, and in the absence of it may imagine anything or nothing. But what if it prove the very key to our difficulty? What if the simple meaning be, that that which was purely devilish and hellish in the *practice* of the horsemen becomes divine and heavenly in their *profession*? They attack with smoke, and in defending themselves call it *jacinth*. To see them in *action* they are simply murderers, sending men to death and hell; to hear them discourse of their principles their authority is all from above, and their single design to build up the heavenly Jerusalem. Thus does the seeming variance between the armour and the breastplate develop itself into a harmony most horrible.

We must add a word as to the peculiar combination of the two other creatures with the horse symbol.

One of these, as we have seen, is the *lion*—first among Scripture animals for inspiring of terror and spreading of havoc (Jer. v. 6; Hosea xiii. 7)—the roaring and devouring lion; and this, in furnishing the horses with heads, supplies by the mouth a channel for the whole of the killing apparatus. Nor does the mouth here have any connection with teeth, as it naturally would, and as was the case with the nameless fourth beast, the old Roman power, in Daniel's vision. The present apparatus, on the other hand, consists of material altogether peculiar, and such as nothing could suggest or justify but the absolute

peculiarity of the great matter symbolized. Then, in connection with lion heads, we have actual serpents for the horses' tails, and serpents too *having heads*. Marvelous combination in such a position of intelligence and subtlety! And if we put the whole together, what a spectacle! Babylonish war-horses in myriads of myriads, with heads of lions, breathing from their mouths smoke, and fire, and brimstone, and for tails "serpents having heads."

Let us mark again. The killing work is all done, not only by the horses, but by their mouths. The serpent tails "do hurt" indeed, but nothing more. What then can those tails be? We may not pronounce too positively, but we have at least one clear instance of the symbolic or figurative use of the thing. "The ancient and honourable, he is the head; the *prophet* that speaketh lies, he is the *tail*." (Isa. ix. 15.) That is to say, the false prophet is like one sprung up yesterday, and attached to the original rulers of the nation, in the fashion of a *tail* to a powerful body, to which it acts now as a serviceable ally. "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and my people love to have it so."

What there may be of these qualities in the symbols before us it will be our part to inquire. Meanwhile, it is difficult to think without blushing of the treatment given to the divine word, when, in the difficulty of finding a suitable exposition, the strange liberty is taken of putting forward, as a fitting counterpart to the Apocalyptic symbol, the rank of Turkish pashas, as marked by their *one, two, or three tails!*

CHAPTER XXVII.

SIXTH TRUMPET.

Fulfilment.

THE PREPARATION.

WE assume then, after what has now been said, that Euphrates points to Babylon, and that Babylon symbolizes Rome. Hence the Sixth Trumpet will present a scene in the history of this new Babylon, in pursuance of that dominion to which the Fourth Trumpet conducted us. If any be inclined to stumble at the assumption, doubting whether it be warrantable to allot so much of Apocalyptic space to this one subject, we can only remind them that the Fourth Empire, being what it is, both as to its power and period, in Daniel's visions, can have no rival on the prophetic field. It need never be a difficulty that so much should be made in the New Testament Revelation of an empire like this—bound up, as it was, in its terrible grasp, with the very existence of the captive in Patmos. The proper question, in fact, is not whether any one's references to Rome be excessive, but whether or not they be well grounded.

There was to be, then, as we have also learned from the symbols, a very special preparation for the "killing" work of the Sixth Trumpet; and nothing can be more distinct

than the completeness of such preparation at the beginning of the thirteenth century. "All roads at that time led to Rome;" and from Rome, of course, was a road to everywhere. Thus had the path been cleared for the Euphratean horsemen.

The Pope was now assumed to be "supreme over both bodies and souls, with power of life and death;" he is "lord and master of the whole world, things as well as persons." "Every baptized man is a subject of the Pope, and must remain so all his life, whether he will or not." For now the Pope is no more the mere "vicar of Peter," but the "vicar of Christ;" "he is God's *locum tenens* on earth—chief overseer, who must put down all opposition"—while "the priesthood is, properly speaking, the sole ordinance and institution of God."

Thus the Pope, as a true Nebuchadnezzar, can permit of no contradiction.

"Whoever contradicts a Papal decision, or knowingly disobeys a Papal command, thereby incurs the guilt of heresy, and shall be handed over to the secular power to be put to death."*

♦ But how did such belief come about? The seed, as we can well understand, had been carefully sown by Hildebrand; but "more than 100 years" had been needful "for the maturing of his maxims."† And without that the work now undertaken by his successors had been impossible.

The first thing wanted was "a new system of Church law," the proper founder of which was Anselm of Lucca, contemporary of Gregory. This he began, "first by extracting, and putting into working shape, everything in the Isidorian forgeries serviceable for the Papal despotism; next, by altering the law of the Church, through a tissue of fresh inventions and interpolations, in accordance with the requirements of his party and the standpoint of Gregory." "A new history and a new civil and canon law was required, and both had to be obtained in this way."‡

* JANUS, pp. 159, 160, 163, 151, 245.

† HALLAM, *Middle Ages* (in one vol.), p. 365.

‡ JANUS, p. 102, 105.

At last there appeared, about the middle of the twelfth century, the *Decretum* of Gratian of Bologna, which was at that time

"the first school of law in Europe, and the juristic teacher of the whole of western Christendom." "This work became the manual and repertory for canonists and scholastic theologians, who, for the most part, derived all their knowledge of Fathers and Councils from it. No book has ever come near it for influence on the Church, although there is scarcely any other so chokeful of gross errors, both intentional and unintentional." "One of the most important of Gratian's additions is the chapter which *elaborated a system of religious persecution*"—the design being "to constrain men to goodness, and to what was then reckoned matter of faith, by all means of *physical compulsion*, to the extent of torturing and executing heretics and confiscating their property." He "who kills an excommunicated person, out of zeal to the Church" (so Urban II. is introduced as declaring), "is no longer a murderer; for all who are declared bad by the Church authorities are not only to be scourged, but executed."* All were now "heretics who dared to disobey a Papal command, or speak against a Papal decision on doctrine." Yes, "the Pope is high above all the laws of the Church, and can dispose of them as he will, since they derive all their force from him alone." Thus "in the fifty years between the appearance of Gratian's *Decretum* and the pontificate of the most powerful of Popes—Innocent III.—the Papal system, such as it had become through the pseudo-Isidore, the Gregorian school, and Gratian, worked its way to *complete dominion*." The all-sufficient formula of the popes now was, "*in sacris canonibus est*," or "*in decretis*."†

* JANUS, pp. 142, 147.

† *Ibid.* p. 148-150. We may give a sample or two of the falsifications practised in these forgeries. Thus Constantine, being reported to have said that "*the bishops* were Gods, and that no man might judge *them*," "Anselm and Gratian altered this into the statement that Constantine had declared this of THE POPE;" and "so it has been explained ever since." Again, Augustine having said that those writings were to be accepted as canonical which the apostolical churches had received as such, Gratian turns this into the astounding statement—as still from Augustine—that "*all those writings are to be accepted as canonical which the Holy See has issued*." Once more, among those forgeries is "a quotation from a spurious speech of Peter, that no one should hold intercourse with a man under the Pope's displeasure."—JANUS, pp. 110, 112, 117.

In connection with this great "preparation" there are some other points worthy of notice. That great reform of the Papacy which had taken place in the middle of the tenth century, under Henry III., after its time of deepest degradation—and which in the following century had given scope to the energies of Hildebrand—what, we naturally ask, was the actual issue of it?

"To open up new fields of ambition to the hierarchy, and wonderfully to stimulate their power of political organization."

Such is the most favourable answer that can be given to the question.

"It was this impulse that gave birth to the Crusades, and that enabled the Popes, stepping forth as the rightful leaders of a religious war, to bend it to serve their own ends: it was thus too that they struck the alliance—strange as such an alliance seems now—with the rebellious cities of Lombardy, and proclaimed themselves the protectors of municipal freedom."*

But for this last circumstance history seemed on the point of taking a very different shape. Here was the Emperor Frederick I. (Barbarossa), "the mightiest prince of his time," "the greatest of the crusaders, the noblest type of mediæval character, in many of its shadows and all its lights," this man, "a sort of imperialist Hildebrand," who expected to manage bishops "like a Justinian or Heraclius," and who could not easily forget how he had been obliged to hold Pope Adrian's stirrup as the hard price of the imperial crown—this great prince, after seemingly shattering the Lombard confederacy, on which Alexander III. was relying for his very existence, finds

* BRYCE, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 205.

himself, through the indomitable spirit and ultimate success of those Italian states, a fugitive, without an army, from the field of Legnano, and "his own banner gone down before the *caroccio* of the free city."* Thus this remarkable Pope added to his victory, in the famous Canterbury contest with Henry II., this far more important triumph over the illustrious Emperor.

But there were other dangers springing up that seriously threatened the new Roman sovereignty, as formidable as those imperial designs that had thus been defeated. The Waldenses were now bestirring themselves with great zeal and success, and already made no secret of their aims and expectations of checking the advances of "Antichrist," as they styled the Pope.† Seeing this Alexander III. (1159–81) bestirs himself also, and at the Synod of Tours (1163) thunders his anathemas against them. But for the present it was thunder only; the time for the thunderbolts had not yet come. Again, at the third Lateran (1179),‡ he published similar decrees against the other heretics of the same region; while at the same time he succeeded in expelling from France Peter Waldo, who found no rest for himself short of Bohemia, where he was privileged to sow

* BRYCE, *Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 167–179.

† NEANDER, viii. p. 352, *sq.*

‡ Both these synods were held by Alexander III. At the former it was enacted that no one, under peril of anathema, "should afford any refuge or help" to the "heretics" that had been specified, "nor to have any dealings with them in buying or selling; so that *all solace of humanity being utterly lost*, they may be compelled to forsake the error of their life." At the Lateran Council it was decided that "whosoever gave any help to the sectarians should undergo the same punishment themselves, and that the *relaxed*, or persons informed against as under suspicion of heresy, *should be outlawed*."—RULE, *Hist. of Ing.* i. p. 5.

the seed of a large evangelical harvest.* Still there was in all this no killing. Such work had indeed been done upon some "heretics" accused of Manicheism at the Council of Orleans (1017); and, in this twelfth century, in the case of Peter de Bruis (1130); but the former of these horrid acts had been French, not Roman, while the latter was due to an outburst of popular fury.†

Within a few years, however, of the banishment of Peter Waldo, the *principle* of the Inquisition was at length fairly established by Pope Lucius III., at the Council of Verona (1184), in addition to that formal "perpetual curse" which it was now the privilege of Peter's successor to launch against all heretics. And this black ceremony was enacted in no less a presence than that of Barbarossa himself.‡

* As an illustration of the Waldensian movement, see notice of evangelical religion at Metz, in the end of twelfth century.—NEANDER, vol. vii. p. 445.

† NEANDER, viii. p. 340, and WADDINGTON, p. 355, 6. See also WADDINGTON, p. 351 *note*, regarding the burning of heretics at Cologne in St. Bernard's time. But here again "they were seized by the people in the excess of zeal, and burnt to death."

‡ See RULE's *History of Inquisition*, vol. i. pp. 12, *sq.* We read also that this Pope, in the previous year (1183) had ordered the burning of a number of heretics in Flanders by his legate the archbishop of Rheims. (JANUS, p. 244, the authority being PAGI, *Critic. in Baron.* an. 1183.) Now if this could be shown to be sufficiently connected with the other features of the Sixth Trumpet, then its commencement might be thus dated. But, in the absence of such evidence, we are constrained to postpone that commencement for yet a little. What the real belief of these sufferers was it is impossible to ascertain. They were, we may suppose, connected with some branch of the Albigenses. They formed a "mixed multitude of persons of all ranks, from noble to ignoble—clergymen, rustics, soldiers, maidens, widows, married women. The archbishop and Count of Flanders decreed that they should be cast into the fire, and their property given to the priest and the prince."—RULE, as above, p. 11.

"Thus it had come about, through the influence of Gratian, and the unwearied activity of the Popes and their legates since 1183, that the view of the ancient Church on the treatment of the heterodox was thus completely superseded, and the principle made dominant that *every departure* from the teaching of the Church must be punished with death, and the most cruel of deaths—by fire. From this time complete apostacy from the Christian faith, or a difference on some minor point, was all the same. Either was heresy, to be punished with death." And "from 1200 to 1500, the whole series of Papal ordinances on the Inquisition, ever increasing in severity and cruelty, and their whole policy towards heresy, runs on without a break. It is a rigidly consistent system of legislation; every Pope confirms and improves upon the devices of his predecessors."*

One additional circumstance will illustrate at once the character of the "preparation" and of the "killing" that followed. It is the connection between the crusades in the East and the persecutions in the West.

"The spirit of religious persecution seems to have borrowed its peculiar features (such as the assaulting of whole sects and districts of 'heretics' by authorized military force) from the crusades." It was not difficult to impress a superstitious people with the conviction that "heresy;" that is, any divergence of belief, was as hateful to God as the fullest unbelief. "Hence the weapon which had been so piously employed to chastise the unbeliever might as laudably be used for extirpating the heretic. Thus was introduced into 'the Church of Christ' the practice of religious massacre; and once that the ministers of bigotry had revelled in blood, they were not easily persuaded to relinquish the cup. So it was that the crusades put arms into the hands of intolerance, and finally kindled in the bosom of Europe the same fanatical passions with which they had desolated the East."†

* JANUS, pp. 235-7.

† WADDINGTON, p. 465 (condensed).

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SIXTH TRUMPET—CONTINUED.

INNOCENT III.

So much for the preparation required, in as far as it depended on *circumstances* and *motives*. It still remains that we point out the direct *agencies* engaged in the work. But this will be better done after the needful details of the work itself.

In such a state of things then—most real crisis in the world's history, when "the right of trampling on the necks of kings had been received among Churchmen as an inherent attribute of the Papacy"*—there appeared upon the stage that very remarkable Pope, Innocent III. In him we seem to see the most perfect counterpart of Nebuchadnezzar, with his huge golden image, his princes, governors, captains, and fiery furnace, with the proclamation, "Whosoever falleth not down and worshippeth shall the same hour be cast into this." In arrogance † and

* HALLAM, p. 365.

† "He proclaimed that he would not endure the least contempt of himself, or of God, whose place he held on earth, but would punish every disobedience without delay, and convince the whole world that he was determined to act like a sovereign."—WADDINGTON, p. 341.

"In his address to the Italian cities, Innocent says, that as the *moon* (representing the temporal king) is seven times greater than the *earth* (which such a one rules), and the *sun* (representing the Pope) eight times greater than the *moon*, *therefore* the Pope is fifty-six times greater than any temporal king."—MASSY, *Secret History of Romanism*, p. 20.

tyranny the two men were wonderfully alike; and, as builders, each was a consummate master, alike expert and indefatigable in the setting up of his own "great Babylon." There was just this one striking difference: we do not find that the Italian Churchman ever discovered his mistake, like the Chaldean idolater. Such, at length, had the professed head of Christendom become. Thus had the simplest texts been worked up into the most inconceivable web of falsehood and oppression—"Thou art Peter," "Feed my sheep," "Here are two swords." These were among the chief threads of that web. And now the preparation was complete. Henceforth the thunders shall carry their lightnings with them. For just at this moment there is a fair European land on which the bad angels are looking with keen appetite for vengeance; and here is at their call one to whom his predecessors have just handed over a brand which already has begun to burn.

The case was this: The south of France was at that time literally swarming with dissidents from the Roman Church—this, on the shewing of their enemies, being the only crime of many of them. And from this centre "the Waldenses, Albigenses, the Paterins, had spread their instructions throughout all the countries which had been comprised in the Western Empire."* Such was the reaction which the monstrous pretensions of Rome had awakened, and the issue of it all was that the very foundations of the Popedom were in danger; and now to meet that danger, and kill the budding reformation,

* SISMONDI, *History of Waldenses*, p. 116, in KEITH'S *Signs of Times*, vol. ii. p. 110.

Innocent III. takes up the work as a genuine monarch of Babylon. For

“at the very commencement of his pontificate he writes to various prelates, calling on them to gird themselves for the work of extirpation, and to employ, if necessary, the arms of the princes and of the peoples.”

As for the Waldenses, they were at first less feared, as living in comparative seclusion; but the Albigenses seemed more formidable, from the protection publicly afforded to them by Raymond, Earl of Thoulouse.* While at the same time, “with a few exceptions, all the barons of the neighbourhood became protectors of the heresy, some even ranking with its most devoted followers.”† Against these therefore the Pope’s most earnest efforts were directed, and in his first year (1198) he sent two legates into the rebellious districts for the purpose of exploring and threatening.

“Presently afterwards a more *numerous commission*, the advance of his array, invaded the haunts of heresy, and brought argument and eloquence in support of intimidation.”‡ This commission was soon joined by Dominic, and, besides exhortation to the heretics, the “Papal agents now aimed to arouse the civil authorities in their favour, and to enforce, wherever they could, the infliction of capital punishment. This expedition lasted six or seven years, and at the end of that time the spiritual missionaries engaged in it were generally known by the title of *Inquisitors*.”

At length, in 1207, Innocent applied to Philip Augustus (the same haughty French king whom he had forced by a national interdict § to put away the wife that he so loved,

* WADDINGTON, p. 356, note, and 357.

† HARDWICK, *Church in Middle Ages*, p. 289.

‡ WADDINGTON, p. 357.

§ “The submission of such a prince, not feebly superstitious, like his predecessor Robert, nor vexed with seditions, like the emperor Henry IV., but brave, firm, and victorious, is perhaps the proudest trophy in the scutcheon of Rome.”—HALLAM, p. 367.

and take back the one that he so hated), "to march an army into the heretical provinces, and extirpate the rebels by fire and sword." In the following year, one of his legates having been massacred by the populace, the Pope launched his excommunication against Earl Raymond, and sent forth his emissaries on a work

"new in the history of inter-Christian warfare. They proclaimed a *general campaign* of all nations against the Albigenses, promising a grant of indulgences and dispensations to all who should take up arms in that holy cause. Having reduced those dissenting Christians to the religious level of Turks, they let loose an *infuriated multitude* of fanatics against them."*

Under the Pope, the original promoters of the crusade were the Cistercian monks,

"promising to all who should perish in this holy work plenary absolution of their life-long sins ; a campaign of forty days being reckoned sufficient to obtain eternal life. Never had the cross been taken up with a more unanimous consent. Bull after bull was fulminated from the Court of Rome. The immense preparations resounded throughout Europe, and filled Languedoc with terror."†

But the Cistercians being found inadequate to the tremendous task,

"the Pope charged a new congregation, with the famous Dominic at their head, to go on foot, two and two, through the villages, preaching the faith, and displaying all the zeal of Christian charity ; thus winning the people's confidence, and getting full information as to the number and dwellings of the heretics, so as to burn them when the opportunity should arrive. Thus began the order of the preaching brethren of St. Dominic, or the Inquisitors."‡ "When the Bishop of Beziers delivered

* WADDINGTON, pp. 357, 358.

† SISMONDI, *History of Crusades against Albigenses*, pp. 24, 25, in KEITH, as above.

‡ SISMONDI, as above.

to the Papal legate a list of the suspected persons the citizens refused to surrender them, although the assemblage of the tents and pavilions of the crusaders was so great that it appeared as if the world was collected there. All the inhabitants of the country had taken refuge in Beziers. The city was taken, and the immense multitude slaughtered in the church, to which they had fled. When the crusaders had massacred the last living creature in the city they set fire to it in every part, and reduced it to a vast funeral pile. The number of the slain may be safely put down as not less than 40, some say 60,000.*

It was on this occasion—upon some one asking how the Catholics were to be distinguished and spared—that Montfort shouted, “Kill them all; kill them all; God will know His own!”

Now it was “Innocent III. who at first excited the sanguinary spirit which lorded it over Europe. And yet it was but too true that the whole of Christendom then demanded the renewal of those scenes of carnage, that it prided itself on the slaughter of heretics, that it was in the name of public opinion that the fathers of Lavaur required new massacres. Kings, nobles, priests, and people, were all agreed in thinking that heretics must be destroyed with fire and sword. No calculation can ascertain with any precision the dissipation of wealth, or the destruction of life, which were the consequences of the crusade against the Albigenses. There was scarcely a peasant who did not reckon in his family some unhappy one whose life had been cut off by the sword of Montfort’s soldiers; not one but had repeatedly witnessed the ravaging of his property by them. Simon de Montfort was to them the *representation* of the evil spirit—the prototype of all the persecutions they had endured.”† “The number of the slain in France alone has been computed at a million.”‡

Thus “for thirty years continued this bloody war, in which the worst outrages of fanaticism and cupidity were practised against the inhabitants of those districts.”§

And yet it was more nearly fifty years ere the “killing”

* *Ibid.* pp. 34–37.

† SISMONDI, pp. 95, 208, 128, 129.

‡ *Made in Apoc.* p. 503.

§ NEANDER, viii. p. 408.

work was over; for the last act of that commenced as late as 1253.*

In the course of these proceedings there had been set up at the Lateran Council (1215) *the tribunal of the Inquisition*. In fourteen years more (1229), by the Council of Thoulouse, there was established at that place “a *permanent Inquisition* against the heretics”—such crimes as the translation and reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongues being made punishable with death.† In that fatal year

“a Papal legate proclaimed King Louis’ law against heresy (of which presently) in Languedoc; and a Papal legate, the Cardinal of St. Angelo, at the head of an army, introduced the Inquisition into Thoulouse. Shortly after which we find another Papal delegate, the notorious Robert *le Bougre*, raging in France.”‡

About the same time (1233) was the new tribunal committed by Pope Gregory IX. to the charge of the Dominican monks.§ Meanwhile Innocent III., while yet in the full vigour of manhood, had been called away (1216) to a higher tribunal. But amid all his other achievements he had first established the *Inquisition*.||

* WADDINGTON, p. 359.

† By a subsequent law, under Alexander IV. (1254), it was enacted that whosoever of the laity conversed publicly or privately on matters of faith thereby incurred excommunication, and after a year became amenable to the Inquisition.—JANUS, p. 162.

‡ JANUS, p. 240.

§ NEANDER, vol. viii. p. 403; vii. p. 450.

|| “Under that young and ambitious priest, the successors of St. Peter attained the full meridian of their greatness; and in a reign of eighteen years he exercised a despotic command over the emperors and kings whom he raised and deposed; over the nations, whom an interdict of months or years deprived, for the offence of their rulers, of the exercise of Chris-

It was he who first saw that a work which embraced "those numberless imprisonments and executions" was too great for the "natural inquisitors," the bishops, and must be taken into his own hands as "a distinct ecclesiastical department." "In two ponderous folios of epistles, almost each missive being full of threatening and slaughter, there still breathes the fury" of this great Babylonian despot.*

tian worship. In the Council of the Lateran he acted as the ecclesiastical, almost as the temporal, sovereign of the East and West. It was at the feet of his legate that John of England surrendered his crown; and Innocent may boast of the two most signal triumphs over sense and humanity—the establishment of transubstantiation, and the origin of the Inquisition."—GIBBON, vol. xi. p. 152.

* RULE, *Brand of Dominic*, p. 6.

CHAPTER XXIX.

SIXTH TRUMPET—CONTINUED.

REMAINDER OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

It was not only France, however, that was thus harassed. The same class of sects is found "after the year 1230 to be uninterruptedly spreading in the countries about the Rhine"—Conrad of Marburg being appointed Inquisitor over them; and

"before his terrific power no man was safe. This power he exercised unscrupulously against the highest as well as the humblest. A man once accused of heresy could save his life only by declaring himself guilty, and confirming all that had ever been said by the most extravagant rumours concerning the assemblies of the heretics, and subjecting himself to penance; but he who would not confess was held guilty and burnt."*

Another great movement of this century here calls for notice—the conversion of various northern Pagans to Papal Rome.

First, there was Livonia. Berthold, a Cistercian abbot, acting under Innocent III. in his very first year (1198), was the missionary, and "a large army of crusaders" his

* NEANDER, vol. viii. p. 406. "This crusade against the Albigenses was followed by one against a branch of Frieslanders in Oldenburg," called "the Stedingers." Although the origin of the contention was really political, "yet Conrad could believe the most extravagant things of the Stedingers, and make them believed by the Pope. Hence the Pope surrendered the poor people victims to their enemies."—*Ibid.*

instruments. "The terrified Livonians were compelled to acquiesce in his demands." A reaction followed, and Berthold's successor, "Albert, established in 1201 the knightly order of the Sword (*Ordo Fratrum militiæ Christi*), by whose chivalry the elements of Paganism were gradually repressed. The centre of these operations was Riga." This success encouraged Albert to extend the Church in the adjoining countries. Hence in Esthonia there "takes place (1211-18) a fanatical campaign of the *Knights of the Sword*, under which that province succumbed," being Christianized in name. This is followed by similar operations in Prussia, which, by the Papal sanction, is invaded by a body of crusaders in 1219. The first knightly company proving unequal to the task, is succeeded by

"the order of Teutonic Knights, who, step by step, won their way into the very heart of Prussia." "In the course of those revolting wars, extending over more than fifty years (1230-83), *the land was well-nigh spoiled of its inhabitants.*" The survivors at last yielded, and certain dioceses—a fair sample, we suppose, of others—were "subdivided into three parts, of which two rendered homage to the Knights, and the remainder to the bishop as feudal lord." *

In the same century were two princes, distinguished above all their compeers, whose action throws a very striking light on the character of the Roman power at that time. These were Louis IX. of France (St. Louis) and

* HARDWICK, as above, pp. 212-15. "On the termination of the Crusades, these Knights returned to Germany, and turned their consecrated arms to the conversion of Prussia. In the treaty between the Empire and Popedom, in 1230, we find that the interests of the three military orders were expressly stipulated for by the Pope."—WADDINGTON, p. 387, and note.

the Emperor Frederick II.—the one, the most upright, the most humane, and the most pious of middle age kings; and the other, the most cultivated, intellectual, and “free-thinking” of living sovereigns—with no rival as an emperor, unless it be Charlemagne himself. And yet each of these—though from motives the most different—is found supporting and using the Inquisition. As to Louis, “it is asserted with truth that the Inquisition was permanently established in France during his reign; that he never ceased to manifest great partiality for the Dominicans and Franciscans, and all invested with the inquisitorial office; and that it was even at his particular solicitation that Alexander IV., in 1255, confirmed the institution of that tribunal—thus extending over the kingdom what had hitherto been confined to the most infected province,” and thus showing, we may remark in passing, how widely the infection had spread. “And if there was any sceptre under which the same tribunal can be said to have flourished, it was assuredly that of St. Louis.”*

In regard to Frederick, on the other hand, it was whilst as an individual he was spoken of as more Mussulman than Christian, and, as a monarch, was maintaining a bitter and deadly struggle with the Pope; it was after he had written to the king of England in the most indignant terms of “the Court, or step-mother Church, of Rome, as caring only for money, and sending out its legates on every side to punish, suspend, and excommunicate;” it was, after “scoffing at the anathemas of the Church, and

* WADDINGTON, pp. 446, 447.

treating her soldiery, the friars, with a severity not seldom ferocious"—it was then that this very prince, to propitiate that same enemy,

"published in 1224 three Constitutions, which aggravated the guilt and punishment of heresy, even beyond that of treason, and placed the temporal authorities at the disposal of the Inquisition."* In addition to which he published at a later period (1244) certain "brutal edicts, not exceeded by the most barbarous emanations of the Vatican," which "proved much more effectual than the encouragement given by St. Louis in arming the fury of the Dominicans."†

Now all this, if anything could, might have conciliated the Pope. But no; it was only the liberty of following his own plans that Frederick sought to purchase, and no price could ever procure him that. It was nothing to the Babylonian monarch to be served, so long as he was not served precisely in his own way. Frederick had "courted the friendship of Rome by feeding her fiercest passion—by sanctioning the most fatal of all her principles," but in vain. After being excommunicated for his delay in proceeding to Palestine, and then again for venturing to go while under the ban, he is excommunicated a third time, and his subjects released from their oath of allegiance. Then finally, in 1246, at the Council of Lyons, he is deposed still more formally, "his subjects being forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to render further obedience, and the electors commanded to choose a successor." Already had Gregory IX., in 1240, proclaimed a crusade against the Catholic Emperor, "promising the same indulgences to those who armed against *him* as against the

* WADDINGTON, pp. 416, 420; BRYCE, p. 210.

† WADDINGTON, p. 447.

Sultan," "the apostolic preachers sometimes representing the former, indeed, as the easier and broader road to salvation."* Thus the struggle went on—the Emperor a deposed monarch, under the Papal ban, with his states given up to strangers, and ravaged by hostile armies, *in the name of the Church*, and his deadly enemy the man who, as Cardinal Sinibaldi Fieschi, had been his staunchest friend, but now, as Innocent IV., his most ruthless foe.

"It was a conflict for life or death between the Emperor and the Pope,"† and in the conducting of this conflict the most iniquitous means were thought righteous by the chief priest of Christendom. "He even sought to seduce Conrad from the service of his father into rebellious and parricidal obedience to the Church."‡ The princes of Germany and the states of Italy were alike enlisted on his own side by the powerful Roman, and "the deposition of Frederic was virtually accomplished by that last edict of Innocent; since the rest of his life—for four years—was spent in uninterrupted confusion and alarm, in the midst of battle, sedition, and treason, without any enjoyment of the repose of royalty, and a very limited possession either of its dignity or authority."§

At length, in 1250, Frederick II., thus hunted out of the world, died, the Pope gloating over his end in a style that seems like the echo of the shouts of Gregory I. over the murdered Maurice,|| and "with Frederick fell the Empire"—regarded, that is, according to "what it once had been;"¶ while

* WADDINGTON, pp. 421, 417, 418, 422, and note.

† NEANDER, vii. p. 252.

‡ WADDINGTON, p. 419.

§ *Ibid.*

|| "Let the heavens rejoice, and the earth be in festivity," &c.—WADDINGTON, p. 422.

¶ BRYCE, as above, p. 210. "In her long contention with the house of Swabia, Rome finally triumphed. After his deposition by the Council of Lyons, the affairs of Frederic II. went rapidly into decay. With every allowance" for other causes, "it must be confessed that the proscription of Innocent IV. and Alexander IV. was the main cause of the ruin of his family."—HALLAM, p. 368.

"the undying hatred of the Papacy threw around his memory a lurid light. Him, and him alone of all the Imperial line, Dante, the worshipper of the Empire, must perforce deliver to the flames of hell."*

The sons of Frederick, Conrad and Manfred, and grandson, Conradin, were now pursued with the same relentless hatred by the succeeding Popes. The crown of Sicily was actually sold by Pope Urban IV. (1264) to Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis. The brave Manfred was slain in a desperate battle, and his body, as that of an excommunicated man, disinterred and dishonoured. At last, in 1268, the crusade under Clement IV., against a legitimate and virtuous monarch, was completed with the most sanguinary success, the issue of it being the extinction of the house of Hohenstaufen (greatest of the Imperial dynasties), and that by the execution of the youthful Conradin on a scaffold.

"The brother of St. Louis supported his usurpation with the same merciless sword which had achieved it, and the historians still recount, with tears of indignation, the more than usual horrors of the French invasion."†

And all this in the interest of the Roman See, and consecrated by its blessing. One fruit of the same crusade, and of the behaviour of its conductors, is worthy of mention; for this it was which led, fourteen years afterwards (1282), to that fearful massacre of eight thousand French, known in history as "the Sicilian Vespers."

There is still a vital circumstance in connection with those Papal crusades which must not be overlooked. There

* BRYCE, p. 208.

† WADDINGTON, p. 425.

could have been no such success to them, but for that subjugation of German bishops to the Papal despotism—so fatal to the Imperial interests*—as effected by the means already hinted at, and notably by the working out of decretal principles, through “canonists” and “mendicants.” We find, indeed, an archbishop of Mentz (1251) refusing to take up arms “in defence of the Church”—*i.e.* in the Papal war against Frederick’s son—and we find also that for this offence the same high dignitary was deposed by Innocent IV.

We now conclude this notice of one grand feature of the Roman “killing” work—namely, the crusades against Christian powers (closely related as these are to the constant war-makings of a more ordinary sort, of which the object was still the same)—with an important statement from a writer at once able and moderate. The passage does not admit of abridgment, and furnishes, we think, no unimportant illustration of the Sixth Trumpet.

“The Church of Rome had now so habitually stained herself with blood as to be callous to the common feelings of nature, and insensible to the miseries of mankind. For more than a century she had employed her power in promoting the destruction of human life by the most senseless expeditions; and as the ruinousness and vanity of the crusades became more manifest, she seemed to redouble her exertions to renew and perpetuate them; for she thrived by contributions levied for this purpose, and by the property which was thrown under ecclesiastical protection; and she gathered strength through the weakness of monarchs and the superstition of their subjects. Again, after Innocent had succeeded in an additional outrage upon humanity and reason, by converting the machine which had been intended against the enemies of Christ into an engine of domestic persecution and torture, it became more than ever the interest of the Pope to keep alive a spirit which might so easily be

* JANUS, p. 174.

made to deviate into arbitrary channels. And thus the zeal for crusades which inflamed the breast of Innocent passed without any diminution into those of his successors. Moreover, it is well known how earnestly the holy See supported the interests of Frederick II. against Otho IV., as long as the former was the weaker party, and how zealously it began to raise enemies against him as soon as he became powerful; while the industry with which it renewed and prolonged the contests between the Guelphs and the Ghibelines—contests which lacerated the vitals of Italy—furnishes melancholy proof that its interests were even at this time associated with every principle that is subversive of peace and baneful to society, and that it pursued those interests with callous, persevering, uncompromising obduracy.*

Returning now to the middle of the century, we find that Innocent IV., having at last triumphed over his Imperial enemy,

“pursued and exceeded the footsteps of his predecessors. He established the *Tribunal* of the Inquisition in the north of Italy, and in that form which made it most effectually the engine of the Vatican, the whole effective power being vested in the Dominicans and Franciscans, . . . and from Italy the pestilence rapidly spread to Sardinia, to Syria, to Servia.”†

But now, “not to linger,” says a careful writer on the Inquisition, “over the few scattered fragments of intelligence from the scanty histories of the 13th century, it may suffice to notice that the work of extirpation was carried on with unrelenting rigour.” Lombardy was the province at that time most widely affected by heretical doctrine; and against all the sectaries there we find Gregory IX. (1227–41), one of the most violent Popes in that violent age, launching an anathema against all who dared to think differently from himself. They were

* WADDINGTON, p. 414.

† *Ibid.* p. 447.

"incapacitated from holding any civil office, from possessing property, from prosecuting or bearing witness in any court, from making bequests, or obtaining civil protection. They were not to be interred in consecrated ground; and if a priest, through ignorance or humanity, gave Christian burial to such a one, he was to dig up the body with his own hands, and throw it into the open field, the dunghill, or the ditch."*

Of all the north Italian states at that time the most important was Venice, and specially attracted the regard of that most furious Pope, Innocent IV. For, says Fra Paoli Sarpi,

"when this Pope was trying to deprive the Emperor Frederick II. of the empire, kingdom, and states that he possessed, and a great part of Christendom being thereupon in arms, and all Lombardy in debate with the march of Trevigi and *Romagna*, then divided into favours of the Pope and the Emperor, they were infected with various perverse opinions, and retreating to Venice there to live in security, the wisdom of this Government, in 1249, found a remedy to guard the city from being infected with that contagion that infected the rest of Italy." That is to say, Venice accepted of the *Inquisition*.† "And by the Inquisition we are not only to understand the members of particular tribunals, but also the entire fraternities of Dominican and Franciscan monks, who rendered service in Italy similar to that performed by the *familiars* in Spain, and who constituted, together with sworn crusaders, a formidable army, strong enough to conquer opposition by main force in any of the weaker states, even without troubling the Pope to enforce the terrors of an Interdict." But for this terrible engine "the Italian States would certainly have succeeded in casting off the yoke of Papal Supremacy."‡

"And now the mandates of the so-called Vicars of Christ breathed defiance against all the world. The empire and the Papacy were in arms against each other, almost dividing Europe between Guelphs and Ghibellines. Italy was divided, state against state, and the general confusion

* RULE, BRAND, &c. p. 219.

† Fra P. Sarpi, *History of Inquisition in Venice*, chap. i. in RULE, p. 220. Further on in the century we find "Pope Nicolas IV. stimulating his emissaries to peculiar diligence, both in Italy and Provence;" while at the same time there "is published at Venice an ordinance for facilitating the operations of the Inquisition."—WADDINGTON, p. 429.

‡ RULE, *History of Inquisition*, vol. i. p. 138, and BRAND, &c. p. 226.

was aggravated by the horrors of a religious war. On the Inquisitors was devolved the conduct of this war, on the part of the Church of Rome, and Pope after Pope instructed them how to enlist Prelates in the service, and how to raise troops of crusaders to fight against Christians in the name of Christ. Those Inquisitors travelled from place to place delivering inflammatory harangues, and then enlisting volunteers for the murderous enterprise. For wages, they offered plenary indulgences, and the common recompense of marauders in the booty to be found in the dwellings of the persecuted; for honour, they gave them crosses.

"The annals of the 13th and 14th centuries consist in great part of narratives of the conflict between the Inquisition, or its agents, and the civil powers of Europe, but most of all with those of Italy. But the isolation of states, the ignorance of populations, and the perfect organization of the ecclesiastical army, determined the victory, in most cases, to the aggressors."

Thus, for example, the Inquisitor General having come in prosecution of his business to Genoa, called for the Governor's co-operation. The Governor, supported by the magistrates, indignantly refused. He was excommunicated, and Genoa placed under Interdict. No more was needed. The authorities submitted, and themselves took in hand, for capital punishment, all whom the Inquisitor sentenced to it. In thus acting Genoa may be taken as a fair sample of Italy in general.*

This took place under Alexander IV. (1254-61), who had accepted from his predecessor, and was now zealously promoting, the war against the heirs of Frederick. In one respect only would these Popes own that distinguished ruler; namely, in his capacity of persecutor. And thus Alexander is actually found calling upon "his beloved children, the podestás, councillors, and communities of

* RULE, BRAND, p. 222; or *History of Inquisition*, vol. ii. pp. 142-3.

the cities, and other places of Italy," to put into execution the edicts of that "accursed" Frederick; his other "beloved children, the Friars Inquisitors," being at the same time enjoined to see this done, "on pain of excommunication of their persons, and interdict on their lands, without appeal." These Inquisitors are assured by their Papal lord that

"the God of indulgences, and Father of mercy, has authorized him to grant them, in reward for their holy services, a full pardon of all sins."*

One case more. About 1280, under Pope Nicolas III., the citizens of Parma having violently assaulted the Inquisitors, the authorities are called upon to deliver up the offenders, and forced to obedience only as those at Genoa had been; upon which they thank the Pope for his lenity in sparing them from a crusade. Many of the citizens, however, having escaped to Sicily, are pursued thither, and hunted down for nearly seventy years, when a few survivors escaped into Calabria. Preaching Christ there, they are again pursued by the Inquisitors, and the whole kingdom of Sicily is subjected to Papal censure for the allowance given to such heretics within its borders.†

* RULE, BRAND, pp. 223-4; or *History of Inquisition*, vol. ii. p. 143.

† *Id.* BRAND, p. 225; and *History* ii. p. 145.

CHAPTER XXX.

SIXTH TRUMPET—CONTINUED.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

PASSING now to the following century, we read thus :

“The bloodthirsty zeal of the Inquisition, in the first half of the 14th century, seems to have almost made an end of the Albigenses of Southern France and Italy, and to have driven them into the eastern countries. In Bosnia the largest part of the population professed the Catharic heresy, which, tolerated at times, and even professed by the lords of the land, spread itself from this to the surrounding countries.”

Now, what the Catharic heresy might be is not our question. Many very impure things have been called by very pious names. Sects, as far as possible from *Apostolical*, whether in principle or practice, have taken to themselves that sacred title. And so it naturally was at the period in question. Thus many, with the highest professions of goodness, were such as an Apostle could only have spoken of, “weeping.” But this, we say, does not touch the present question. The offence of those people was not that they differed from the Bible, but from Rome. This, beyond all doubt, was the heresy and the crime; and Rome had thoroughly made up her mind that the crime was a capital one. She might fail indeed to get hold of the offender, or he might be too high even for

her high hand to strike down ;* but the offence was there, and the sentence at its heels. Hence those furious assaults, whether upon the most simple-minded of Waldenses, or the most corrupt of Cathari or Apostolicals. And we specially call attention to the fact, because of the *principle* of this whole matter. The Sixth Trumpet does not specify *saints* as the objects of the killing work. It was "the third part of *men* ;" and although there is something important implied as to character in certain of the references in the scene (see *vv.* 20, 21), yet is the great idea this, that the attack is upon those who refuse submission to the proud Euphratean power, whatever they be ; and such is precisely the most flagrant feature of all the sufferers that we are now calling attention to, from the most Scriptural to the most heretical. They all alike refuse to believe as Rome believes, and to worship the idols that Rome worships. That is, without any variation, the height and front of their offending.

After this explanation we proceed with the passage that was being quoted :

"The kings of Hungary, as supreme lords of those countries, were incessantly required by the Popes to take steps against the heretics. But their efforts remained fruitless. (Even so) the Waldenses, in spite of all the persecutions they underwent in Southern France, and especially in the valleys of Piedmont, were not exterminated ; but they now spread

* As *e.g.* Robert Grosstête, the noble Bishop of Lincoln. Matthew Paris speaks of him as "refuter of the Pope, reprover of prelates, corrector of monks, director of priests, instructor of the clergy, and, in short, the hammer to beat down the Romans, and to bring them into contempt." He was excommunicated, but he only appealed from the Court of Innocent IV. to the Tribunal of Christ.—Bp. NEWTON, *On Proph.* p. 519.

themselves more in Germany, and, towards the end of the fourteenth century, made their appearance in many parts of that country. It was owing to their activity that the Inquisition, after a long interval, was aroused anew in Germany to fresh energy.”*

These sectaries, under whatever name, seem literally to have swarmed in France and Germany during the century; and wherever they appeared, they were sure to be persecuted.

Thus in 1335 “Benedict XII. instituted a persecution against the Waldenses in Dauphigny, and yet in 1373 a *maxima multitudo* is still found there, and in two years more the persecution again breaks out.”†

We read of them as having assemblies in Cologne, Mayence, Strasburg, Nordlingen, Ratisbon, Augsburg, various places in Suabia, Solothurn, Bern, Weissenburg, Hagenau, Speyer, Holzhausen (near Frankfort-on-the-Maine), Friedberg, Würzburg, Erfurt, Vienna, Steyer in Austria, and Pomerania, in which places we read of burnings, up to one hundred at a time. Of Beghards there was “a bloody persecution at Cologne about 1325.” These last—whose morals must have been bad—were widely spread in North Germany, and

“in 1369 the Emperor, Charles IV., stated, with approval, that they had been exterminated by the Inquisition in the ecclesiastical provinces of Magdeburg and Bremen, in Thuringia, Saxony, and Hesse.”

No wonder it should be considered that, by such multitudes of heretics “*pulchritudo agrorum ecclesiae defoedata fuit*,” and that a large increase of the Inquisitorial band should be needful for their extirpation. Thus

* GIESELER, iv. pp. 218–226.

† *Ibid.* p. 219.

"while in 1367 Urban V. was satisfied to appoint *two* Inquisitors for Germany, Gregory XI. (1370) increased the number to *five*, and Boniface IX., in 1399, raised it to *six* for North Germany alone."*

Thus the fourteenth century ended, as it had begun, with this terrible work. One example of it, at an early date, we have reserved till after the more general statement. The sect of the Apostolicals, formed by Segharelli, in the north of Italy, had become more famous after his death under one much his superior, his pupil Dolcino.

"He, having to fly from Milan, had, with 6000 of the sect, found refuge in the hill country of Novara. The Inquisitor-general then proclaimed a crusade, in which Dolcino, with many of his followers, were taken and burnt. By another crusade, shortly afterwards, they were exterminated."†

Add to all this a circumstance which derives much of its importance from its results in the following century. We speak of that "persecution of the Jews, which, beginning at Seville in 1390, extended over a large part of Spain, and effected a great number of seeming conversions."‡ And then, as we shall find, these converts, as they were made by persecution, so by persecution had to be either restrained within the fence of the hard rules laid down for them, or to be driven outside the world altogether. And thus was prepared for the Inquisition of the fifteenth century a field on which much killing work was done.

To this ghastly killing of the body on so vast a scale we must add a few notices of what looks more like a

* *Ibid.* pp. 225, 230, 224, 226.

† NEANDER, viii. 301; RULE, *History*, ii. p. 150; WADDINGTON, p. 503.

‡ GIESELER, iv. p. 260.

"civil killing," or what must at least have involved a great deal of that. We speak of the employment of *excommunication* and *interdict* in *civil* cases, the religious question being constantly introduced with the view of imparting to them such a character.

"Thus, in the long strife of Guelphs and Ghibellines, Inquisitors and trials for heresy were among the means constantly employed by the Popes to crush the opponents of *their* policy, and of the Angiovine preponderance. The Bolognese jurist, Calderini, maintains that whosoever despises Papal decretals is a heretic; for he thereby seems to contemn the power of the keys. That might be applied to every Ghibelline. Thus Innocent IV., in 1248, declared his great Guelphic enemy, Ezzelino, a heretic. In vain did he give assurance, through an ambassador, of the purity of his faith, and offer to swear to it; Innocent stuck to his point, that Ezzelino was one of the Paterines (a new Gnostic sect), without being able to bring forward even any plausible ground for the charge. John XXII. made still more copious use of the same means, partly for carrying out his own territorial claims, partly in support of the rule of King Robert in Italy. On this ground the Margraves Rinaldo and Obizzo of Este, zealous Catholics, and never Ghibellines, but Guelphs, found themselves suddenly declared heretics by the Pope, in 1320, and subjected to a process of the Inquisition. Two years afterwards the same thing happened to the whole of the staunchly Ghibelline house of the Visconti at Milan; a Papal Bull announced to them that they were heretics, and condemned all their adherents and subjects to slavery. Similar cases occurred repeatedly."*

The following additional notices will help us to understand what the work of excommunication in those days must have been. Whether there be any exaggeration in the reports quoted we know not, but the amount of unquestionable truth in them is amply sufficient to illustrate all that we have in view:

"The Venetian Sanuto (we are told), in 1327, reckoned that *half the Christian world was under excommunication*. . . . Others also

* JANUS, p. 148.

studiously followed the papal example in this respect. . . . Thus it came to pass, as Dubois said in 1300, that at *every sitting* of the episcopal officials in France *more than 10,000 souls were thrust out of the way of salvation into the hands of Satan.*"

No wonder that, in such a state of things, thinking men like Gerson should speak of

"the Church as a *hard prison-house*, where *only dungeon air could be breathed.*"

"The means used by the Popes to secure obedience, and break the force of opposition among people, princes, or clergy, were *always violent*. The interdict which suddenly *robbed millions*, the whole population of a country—often for trifling causes which they had nothing to do with themselves—of divine worship and sacraments, was no longer sufficient. The Popes declared *families, cities, and states outlawed*, and gave them up to plunder and slavery, as, for instance, Clement V. (1305-14) did with Venice; or excommunicated them, like Gregory XI., to the seventh generation; or they had whole cities destroyed from the face of the earth and the inhabitants transported—the fate which Boniface VIII. determined on for Palestrina."*

This extraordinary proceeding against the Venetians was in consequence of a dispute as to the possession of Ferrara, which they had attacked.

"Hence the Pope launched against them the ecclesiastical Ban, blended with secular outlawry in a manner hitherto unheard of" (in 1309), "proclaiming the whole people infamous, and incapable, for three generations, of any office; their goods, in every part of the world, subject to confiscation, and every Venetian, wherever found, liable to be reduced into slavery." And "from this sentence the great Republic only obtained absolution by submission" to Rome *four years afterwards*.†

* JANUS, pp. 180-2.

† GIESELER, vol. iv. p. 14; HALLAM, p. 405. "A bull in the same terms was published by Gregory XI., in 1376, against the Florentines. In 1290 Pisa was put under interdict for having conferred the government on a certain count, who was ordered, under pain of excommunication, to lay it down within a month. In 1284 the Venetians were interdicted because they would not hire out their galleys to the king of Naples. But it would be almost endless to quote every instance."—HALLAM, *ib.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

SIXTH TRUMPET—CONTINUED.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

COMING now to the 15th century, the first striking illustration of the "killing" work is the persecution of the Wycliffites. In the year 1400 was enacted under Henry IV. the famous statute, *de heretico comburendo*, by which both the translating and reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue was made a capital offence; and

"from the time that Henry V. came to the throne (1413), principally at the suggestion of the King's Confessor, a Carmelite friar, the new statutes were brought to bear upon the Wycliffites with such blood-thirsty zeal, that their numbers were greatly diminished, and the remnant withdrew into concealment. The persecuted cause of truth, however, quickly rose again in Bohemia, like a phoenix from her ashes; and, even in England, Wycliffites continued, though in deep concealment, and under heavy persecution, until the great Reformation."*

Then came the Council of Constance, with the martyrdom of Huss and Jerome in 1415-16. They had appealed to the Bible, and had received for answer, that

"whatever had been pronounced by the infallible Church was law, and the only alternative obedience or death." Yes, John Huss had "appealed to Jesus Christ as sovereign Judge; and such an appeal was 'injurious,

* GIESELER, vol. iv. p. 256.

scandalous, and made in derision of ecclesiastical authority.' So they devoted his soul to the eternal devils"—which looked much like a "brimstone" curse—"and ordered his body to the stake, where a rising volume of fire and smoke extinguished at the same time his voice and his life." *

Here was, at least, a combination of three things, which almost seem as if symbolical of the whole design in this system of treatment.

But the Bohemians, instead of being quieted, were only the more inflamed by the killing of their ministers. In 1420 Martin V., entering the country itself, published a Bull of Crusade against them, and one of their first acts, in answer to it, was to spread three hundred tables in the open air for the celebration of the communion in *both kinds*. War now commenced in earnest, Sigismond, who had allowed his safe-conduct to be violated at the command of the Pope, now leading the armies of the Church, and Zisca the Hussites. That the behaviour of the latter in their manner of conducting the war so much resembled that of their enemies, is a thing to make Protestants blush; while the marvellous achievements of the blind Zisca, driving the Imperialists like chaff before him, victorious in thirteen pitched battles, and more than one hundred engagements and sieges, till the Emperor, despairing of subduing the enemy, entered into an agreement to give them full religious liberty—this does not look like the work of the Euphratean horsemen. The agreement, however, came to an end with the speedy death of Zisca; and in 1431 a second crusade was proclaimed under the Cardinal of St. Angelo, and again the Hussites were

* WADDINGTON, pp. 592-95.

successful. They quarrelled among themselves, however, and thus, losing the fruit of all their victories, and at last "fatigued with tumult and bloodshed, might have returned to the obedience of the Church, contented with one almost nominal concession (viz., the *cup*), if the chiefs of the hierarchy could have endured any independence of thought or action, any shadow of emancipation, from their unmitigable despotism."

But this being impossible, all attempts at agreement failed; and at length, in 1464, "Paul II. found means to light up a long and deadly war in the infected country." It was not to be endured "that a single sect should exist anywhere, daring to differ in a single article from the faith and practice of Rome."* In the course of this war the Pope deposed the Bohemian king, Pogebrac (or Podiebrad), a decided enemy of the extreme Hussites, but at the same time a "moderate reformer" himself, who asked for permission to use the "cup." This, we can understand, was more than the Pope was likely to grant; but there was a peculiar baseness in the circumstances of his refusal which deserves notice. The Turks having now established themselves in the east of Europe, were at length threatening the centre. The Hungarian prince, "Corvinus, was defending the frontiers of Christendom against them with courage and honour. He had already gained several advantages, which, with sufficient succour, might have been turned into substantial triumphs." But now Paul II., who

* "The most celebrated among the Papal emissaries in Bohemia at this time (1451) was John Capitano, a Franciscan, who had gained great distinction against the Fraticelli, or reforming Franciscans, having condemned thirty-six of them to the flames. He was a little emaciated old man, full of fire and enthusiasm, and indefatigable in the service of the Church."—WADDINGTON, pp. 602, 3.

had been made Pope with the express view that he, *as a Venetian*, might secure the aid of Venice against the Turks, actually planned to divert the war from them, and turn it *against the Hussites*. He “professed a Catholic ardour to punish the priests who fostered those errors, to reduce the rebels to obedience, and to extirpate every heresy;” and in pursuance of those ends, he offered to Corvinus the Bohemian crown. Hence “for the space of seven infamous years those arms, which had been designed to secure the cross for Christendom, were prostituted” for the purpose of wresting the sacramental cup from the Hussites.* Suffice it to add that, in the midst of this murderous struggle, these as a body disappeared. “The fire, and smoke, and brimstone” had at last done their work on the Bohemian field.† The struggle had commenced a few years after the burnings at Constance, and continued for nearly thirty years after the infamous proceeding of Paul II. in 1466, or not less than eighty years in all. How many men may have been killed during that terrible time, in one of the finest of European countries, we have no means of estimating.‡

The next notable event of the century is another crusade against the Waldenses. “About the year 1400 a persecution is recorded against the inhabitants of Pra-

* GIESELER, iv. p. 377; WADDINGTON, p. 645.

† See some account of this persecution, in its more spiritual aspect, in the “Chronicle,” chap. iii., in Miss WHATELY’S *Gospel in Bohemia*.

‡ “The condition of Bohemia is described as singularly flourishing at that moment. There was no other region more abundant in useful productions, or in which the people were blessed with greater comforts; none more distinguished for the splendour of its churches and monasteries, and the wealth of its clergy.”—WADDINGTON, p. 598.

gela and the valley of Perosa, in which many perished. In 1461 the Archbishop of Embrun undertook to extirpate the Waldensian Church by means of "monitions, exhortations, and injunctions." But this was not the Roman mode of action, and it failed. Accordingly, in 1487, Innocent VIII., one of the most flagitious of Popes—the season of Papal debasement having once more returned—issued his Bull to the Inquisitor for "the extirpation of the pernicious sect of malignant men, entitled 'The Poor Men of Lyons,' 'Waldenses,' &c., and, if needful, to preach the crusade against them." And the crusade was preached, and,

"animated by the usual promise of spiritual indulgences and temporal plunder, 18,000 regular troops and six hundred uncommanded vagabonds burst upon the valleys; and had not a feeling of compunction speedily visited the Duke of Savoy, the work of destruction would probably have been complete, and his successors saved from the infamy of assisting in works of the same character." "If the Nuncio and his companion, the Inquisitor, had been demons, they could scarcely have exhibited a more exquisitely malignant and murderous fanaticism."*

In regard to the more general operations of the Inquisitors in this century we can only give a sample or two. In Germany the persecution against such fanatics as Flagellants and Beghards was actively renewed in 1414.† Of the various cities of Lombardy the chroniclers record the number of victims to the Inquisition at particular times. Thus in Como alone above 1000 persons were, on

* RULE, BRAND, pp. 232, 4; ACLAND, "History of Vaudois," in KEITH, *Signs of Times*, ii. p. 117; BOTTA, "Storia d'Italia," in *Penny Cyclopædia*, "Vaudois."

† GIESELER, iv. p. 230.

an average, tried annually, 100 being burnt. In 1416 the number burnt was 300.*

But the Inquisition in Spain calls for more special notice.

From the thirteenth century to the fifteenth it had been in operation, and the famous Eymeric, a Dominican, in the fourteenth century had been chief inquisitor in Aragon for forty-two years. In the following century, however, it had been almost extinct there, in consequence of the total extirpation of the heretical sects in the south of France, thus cutting off the emigration which had supplied the Spanish Inquisition with materials. But now, towards the end of the same century, the "Holy Office" was introduced into Spain, under a new and more appalling form, and became consolidated and permanent, and more absolute and independent than in any other country of Europe. This is what is designated by Llorente and others as the modern or Spanish Inquisition. We are at present concerned with its doings only for the short period between its creation in 1480 and the early part of the following century. The immediate object of the terrible tribunal was to punish whatever could be counted as *relapse* on the part of the new Christians; that is, the Christianized Jews, many of whom had become connected with the highest families in the land. So great had been the fury of the populace against the Jews (Llorente speaks of upwards of 100,000 as having perished in the streets

* *Penny Cyclopædia*, "Holy Office." It was at the very end of this century (1498) that Savonarola was burnt at Florence; but the case is so entangled a one that we cannot enter upon it.

in 1391) that the temptation to change their name was very great, and "in the fourteenth century more than a million did so."* And thus proceeded the work of "conversion." But woe to the "converts" if in any respect they forgot themselves, and returned unthinkingly to any one of their family customs; if, for example, they put on clean clothes on Saturdays, stripped the fat from their meat, killed fowls with a sharp knife, maintained any peculiarity in feast or fast, mourned for the dead as formerly, or even when dying turned their face to a wall. In all such cases they were "relapsed heretics." No wonder that the *new Christians* hastened from Seville when they found that they were to be tried for their lives on such terms as these. But as they did so, crowds were driven back like felons into the city, till the dungeons overflowed with them, while every body was bound, under pain of mortal sin, to give all information respecting them, according to the marks given out for observing and judging. The immediate result was, that in the first year (1481) there were burnt in Seville alone 298 of these new Christians, besides 2000 in the same diocese, together with that of Cadiz, with 17,000 put under penance, and 79 condemned to perpetual imprisonment.†

"As so many had to be 'killed' by fire, the governor of Seville had a 'Quemadero' (burning place) erected, in the form of a permanent raised pavement, with four large hollow statues of limestone at the corners, within which they used to place the impenitent that they might die by slow fires."‡

* RULE, *History*, i. p. 122.

† MARIANA, *Hist. d'España*, l. 24, c. 17.

‡ RULE, *History*, i. p. 134.

In all this the moving spirit was TORQUEMADA, whose career came to an end in 1498 ; and yet under him, according to Llorente, Roman Catholic historian of the Inquisition, there suffered *directly* (and who can say how many *indirectly* ?) of " heretics " alone (to say nothing of Jews and Moors) as many as

10,220 burnt at the stake.

6,860 burnt in effigy, as having died, or escaped.

97,321 punished by infamy, confiscation, imprisonment for life, or loss of civil rights.

114,401

" An equal number of families, at least, must have been ruined ; and there must be yet an unrecorded number of persons whose lives were cut short by indigence and grief." *

In the midst of these proceedings Granada, in 1492, was taken from the Moors ; and Spain, being thus once more a Christian land, an order was given for all the Jews, except such as would submit to the Church, to leave the country at the beginning of July. No one can tell the horrors of that time. The aged Abarbanel pleaded before their majesties for his Israel ; and they seemed inclined to yield—Ferdinand for gold, Isabella from pity—when Torquemada, rushing into the council-room, shouted, " Judas sold the Son of God for thirty pieces of silver, and you are going to sell Him for 30,000. Here He is, sell Him if you will," at the same time flinging a crucifix on the table before them. The matter was settled, and some 800,000 Jews, amid sufferings indescribable, had to escape from

* RULE, *History*, p. 150.

Spain, chiefly by sea, as best they could, and find shelter where they might.*

Then followed the expulsion of the Moors, and the persecution of the Moriscoes (*i.e.* the new Christians from among *them*), still at the instigation and under the guidance of the Inquisition. But upon this we may not enter. We simply give the victims of the next two Inquisitors, on the same authority of Llorente;

Victims of Deza.		Of Cardinal Ximenes.	
2,592	{	burnt at the stake	3,564
896		burnt in effigy	1,232
34,952		otherwise punished	48,059
<hr/> 38,440			<hr/> 52,855

And this brings us down to the death of Ximenes, November, 1517, a few days after Luther had nailed his theses to the gate of the Castle Church of Wittenberg. Let it be observed that these three lists of direct victims of the Inquisition, amounting to 205,696, and in Spain alone, as given by an unexceptionable Romanist historian, embraces the short period of thirty-six years.

* RULE, *History*, pp. 146-50.

CHAPTER XXXII.


THE WORK, THE AGENCIES, AND PERIOD.

SOME observations seem wanted to bring out more distinctly the fulfilment of our prophecy in the events now related.

1. There was the *preparation time*; and that, as to its final stage, clearly extended from Gregory VII. to Innocent III., or about a century and a quarter. The one set up the dominion, the other set himself to act out its now developed principles; and before him this had not been done. The most complete preparation for the "killing" had indeed been accomplished, and a sample of it, it may be, had been given by Lucius III.; but all that seems to have been only tentative, and the work itself was really in the future, with even the seeming dread of being fully committed to it, when the furious Innocent took it up.

2. As to *the work* itself, enough has been said to show its character. It was as truly Roman as anything recorded in Samnite, Carthaginian, or Gallic wars. Submission to Rome was the condition of existence. Truth or error, moral goodness or badness, these counted for nothing.

"Believest thou as Rome believes?" was the only question. "Is it true that ye do not serve my gods, nor worship the golden image that I have set up?"—this was the one point in controversy. Nimrod was a mighty hunter; but he was only a youth, we imagine, to Innocent III. and his successors. The work, in short, was one of undisguised, unmitigated killing. The "kill them, kill them all," of Montfort at Béziers might have served for the motto of the ages that followed. Now this notoriously was not the Church work of the ninth and tenth centuries; and as notoriously it *was* the Church work of the thirteenth and its successors. The two works differ, in fact, as the locusts and the horsemen. The angels had been prepared *for to slay*, and they engaged the horsemen as their executioners. Such was the *direct object* of the work; and with what ferocity and fiendishness it was to be carried on may be seen from the most general view of the Trumpet scene. *There* it appears rather as the work of devils running riot upon the earth than as the most impetuous advance of a merely human army. Are such characteristics then less flagrant in the actual assaults that emanated from the modern Babylon during those murderous centuries? It needs, of course, that the "killing" should have been strictly designed and voluntary, instead of being merely an accident or an uncontrollable occurrence under the pressure of some terrible necessity. And precisely such was the work that we have been relating. Just because of the growing opposition to Roman demands had the deadly statutes been enacted, and once that the execution of them commenced, it was



unflinching continued on its original ground. Popes might differ in many things, but there was no difference here. The fathers of Constance and Basle might even strive to subject Pope to Council; but they were all agreed that the Bohemians must die, because of their dissent from Rome. They might euphemistically call this indeed, as Rome herself called it, "dissent from the Church." But then, alas! the Church was now nothing else than what Rome had made it. Yes, and what those fathers seemed for a time to gain in their contention with the Popes, they very soon lost again.* Not more determined, in short, were the Ottoman Turks of the same period, if possible, to kill all who resisted them, than the rulers of the Roman Church all who questioned *their* authority. But if the two were equal in will, by far the more formidably equipped and organized, as it had always been, were now the Romans.

3. This brings us to the *various agencies* by which this extraordinary work was to be carried on. The agents were *four*, and they it was that directed the horsemen and their movements. Now it does not seem that we are really bound to point out just four separate classes of agents in the work of "killing." But if there actually were four such agencies, prominent above all others in the new Papal despotism—clearly including as an essential part of that the special work now in question—then we may fairly claim these as meeting the present demand. And

* "The Papal monarchy immediately (1417) raised up itself without opposition above all the limits which the ecclesiastical aristocracy meant to have imposed."—GIESELER, vol. iv. p. 301.

that this was truly the case our historians point out with a remarkable distinctness.

(1) We mention the *Canonists*, with whom may be classed the *Schoolmen*.* The second were an important help; but without the former the new dominion had been impossible. There was nothing in fact for the system to rest upon but the Canon Law; hence the importance of its teachers and promulgators.

"This was, in short, the first grand lever by which the old Church system, resting on the gradation of bishops, presbyters, and parish priests, was undermined and destroyed."† "And, in fact, the most powerful Popes, Innocent III. and IV., Clement IV., and Boniface VIII., attained as *jurists* the highest dignity and *sovereignty over the world*."‡ "It is the *jurists* who now rule the Church, and perplex and torment Christians with processes endlessly spun out;"§ so said, in the 13th century, Roger Bacon, the father of modern science.|| "By means of this new jurisprudence Rome acquired in every country a powerful body of advocates, who, though many of them were laymen, would, with the usual bigotry of lawyers, defend every pretension or abuse to which their received standard of authority gave sanction."¶

* Thus the greatest of schoolmen, Thomas Aquinas, "tries to prove, from the symbolic names given them in Scripture, that heretics should be put to death. Thus, *e.g.* heretics are called 'thieves' and 'wolves;' but we hang thieves and kill wolves. Again, he calls heretics *sons of Satan*, and thinks that they should share even on earth the fate of their father; *i.e.* be burnt. He observes, on the apostle's saying that a heretic is to be avoided after two admonitions, that this avoidance is best accomplished by executing him. For the *relapsed* he thinks all instruction useless; they should be at once burnt."—JANUS, p. 236.

† JANUS, pp. 151-3.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 204.

§ *Ibid.*

|| To the same purpose Dante (*Parad.* ix. 133, &c.) complains that the gospel and the great doctors are neglected, and only the decretals are studied.

¶ HALLAM, p. 370.

To this we add the following from JANUS, p. 232: "The later scholasticism moulded on St. Thomas, the copious literature of canon law, and

(2 and 3) Next to the Canon Law may be reckoned the institution of the *Mendicant* orders, among the things that principally contributed to the aggrandizement of Rome.

"Of these the two most celebrated were formed by St. Dominic, and St. Francis of Assisa, and established by the authority of Honorius III. in 1216 and 1223. The former of these men, *active* and *ferocious*, had taken a prominent part in the crusade against the Albigeois, and was among the first who bore the terrible name of Inquisitor."*

As to St. Francis, it is more difficult to characterize him, since it is even a question whether he was sane or insane. Suffice it to say that he and his brotherhood found their place in supplying another evil want of the times, and became, in the mechanism now wanted by Rome, as powerful instruments as the Dominicans.† The

the host of decretalists on the side of the *Curia*, who fought and wrote for the Papacy as their special and eminently profitable subject, never yielded an inch of the enormous jurisdiction it had already acquired. From 1230 to 1520 the Popes, in the language of the Cardinals in 1538, 'heaped up for themselves teachers after their lusts, having itching ears, to invent cunning devices for building up a system which made it lawful for the Pope to do exactly what he pleased.'" (Ut eorum studio et calliditate inveniretur ratio, quâ liceret id quod liberet.) This *consilium* was drawn up by Cardinal Caraffa, who, when he became Paul IV., had it put on the *Index*.

* HALLAM, p. 370.

† Whatever Francis might be personally, there is no doubt what he soon became to his followers; and this is the really important matter. Thus, in the same century in which he lived, Nicolas III. declares that "in two things Francis is found to surmount Christ;" viz., "that Christ had a bag, and fled"—thus showing infirmity. In the following century there appeared "The Book of the Conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ." Of these there are forty, the second of them being, "Jesus transcends the angelic host, Francis is exalted to the highest place;" and the fifth, "Jesus shone resplendently, Francis is the searcher of hearts." Such language as this occurs: "Oh, Francis, the typified

two combined furnished the Church with *Preachers* and *Inquisitors*, and are recognized by all as

“chief pillars and supports of the new monarchy”—“swarming over the whole Christian world”—“completely under Roman control, and acting everywhere as Papal delegates—wholly independent of bishops, setting up their own church in the Church, labouring for the greatness of their order, and for the Papal authority on which their prerogatives rested. *That authority was literally doubled through their means*; and thus the *spiritual campaign, organized at Rome, was carried into every village*, and the parish clergy generally succumbed to the mendicants, armed as they were with privileges from head to heel. Bishops and priests felt their impotence against the new power of these monks—armed with their power of excommunication, and strengthened by the *Inquisition*; and had, however indignantly, to bend under the yoke laid upon their necks by two powers, irresistible in their union; i.e. the *ecclesiastical and inquisitorial power of the Mendicants*.”

Thus while the Gregorian system turned “the whole clergy” into “an immense army, exclusively belonging to the Pope,”* this very army came, as the 13th century opened, to be actually governed by the two regiments which had just joined its ranks.”

Jesus;” “He is deified in the glory of the saints, to which may Jesus Christ bring us, through the merits of the said Francis.” It was Francis that Isaiah prefigured when he heard the seraphim declare, “The earth is full of *His glory* ;” and Ezekiel (iii. 12) in the vision, “Blessed be the glory of the Lord.” A roll from heaven declared of him, “*Hic est gratia Dei* ;” and he is called “Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews.” He so “followed the evangelical precepts, that it may be truly said of him that he did not transgress a single jot or tittle of them.” In a book by one of his followers, called *The Flowers of Francis*, it is taught that “those only were redeemed by the blood of Christ who had lived up to the time of St. Francis; all since that were redeemed by the blood of Francis himself.” Over the great gate of the Convent of the Franciscans at Rheims is the inscription—“TO THE MAN GOD, AND TO ST. FRANCIS, BOTH THE ONE AND THE OTHER CRUCIFIED.”—*Popery*, by W. Elfe Taylor, pp. 198–201.

* JANUS, pp. 158–164.

"This was the crowning triumph of the Holy See." "In the foundation of the two great orders of ecclesiastical knighthood, the all-powerful, all-pervading Dominicans and Franciscans, the religious fervour of the Middle Ages culminated. In the overthrow of the only power (viz., the Imperial) that could pretend to vie with her in antiquity, in sanctity, in universality, the Papacy saw herself exalted to rule alone over the kings of the earth."*

(4) "Another wing of the great army employed for the consolidation of the Papal Empire" consisted of "the military orders." "It was their leading object to combine the rules of chivalry and knighthood with monastic discipline,"† while "they acknowledged the Pope as their only superior,"‡ and held themselves ready to go upon any crusade on which he might send them. Already we have met with them in such as De Montfort, in the work undertaken for the extirpation of the Albigenses; while in the Teutonic § and other knights we have found them, at an enormous sacrifice of life, winning for Babylon those Prussian provinces which were among the first to cast off the yoke; and that greatly by the help of the very knights then representing the original enslavers. In what spirit and style these crusaders carried on this diabolical work

* BRYCE, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 205.

† HARDWICK, p. 285.

‡ JANUS, p. 152.

§ "On the termination of the Crusades those knights returned to Germany, and soon afterwards . . . turned their consecrated arms to the conversion of Prussia." "In the treaty between the Emperor and the Popedom, in 1230, we find that the interests of the three military orders were expressly stipulated for by the Pope."—WADDINGTON, p. 387.

Among the "other knights" were the "Fratres Militiæ Christi," referred to above. These were organized by Dominic, being sworn to fight as crusaders against heretics. They were all gentlemen, and chiefly married men, their wives also being sworn to help them in the holy war."—RULE, *Inquisition*, i. p. 32.

may be seen in a statement like the following, from one of the most impartial of French historians, and himself Roman Catholic. "Against the Waldenses, when exquisite punishment (under the Inquisition, of course) availed little, and the evil was exasperated by the remedy which had been unseasonably applied, and their number increased daily, at length complete armies were raised, and a war of no less weight than what our people had before waged against the Saracens (*i.e.* the Turks) was decreed against them; the event of which was that they were rather slain, put to flight, spoiled everywhere of their goods and dignities, than that, convinced of their error, they repented. So that they who had at first defended themselves by arms, at last overcome by arms, fled into Provence and the neighbouring Alps of the French territory, and found a shelter for their life and doctrine in those places." *

Such, then, were four—we can well say, *the* four—special agencies by which, according to impartial history, the peculiar work of Rome, from the year 1300 onwards, was carried on.† In this work we are entitled to include

* DE THOU, *Hist. Pref.* in NEWTON, *On Prophecies*, p. 518.

† There are only two other Roman institutions or departments for which a place might be claimed beside or instead of those four; *viz.* the *College of Cardinals* and the *Curia*. But these are almost rather a part of the Papacy themselves than agencies such as we now seek for. The great distinction of the one was, as electors, to find a Pope; and of the other, as his brokers and bankers, to feed him; in the doing of which there was abundant opportunity for each of the two companies to seek its own interests. The natural thing was that they and the Pope should be quite at one in employing those real agencies of the one supreme power that we have been pointing out; for in serving *his* purpose, both Cardinals and Curia were equally serving their own.

—as exceeding rather than exceeded by any other portion of it for prominence—the “killing” department, as taken in its full extent, from the open battlefield to the darkest Inquisition dungeon. Now the natural view would be that these agencies, themselves inspired by as many leading spirits of evil, were finally embodied in the monstrous horsemen—so that the work was really achieved both by the one and the other—while yet the whole of the agency, from the mere spirit to the external symbolic clothing, is really an infernal thing, even as the work pictured—though committed to human hands for execution—is really an infernal work. To this view there will, of course, be much demurring; nor is the question likely to be settled by any length of argument. The difference between the disputants would still be as to what really is Satanic. Both Scripture—as to its guiding principles—and facts—as to their real significance—would be variously interpreted, and so the breach between the parties would continue as before. Luther, certainly, felt strongly that the agencies in question were all Satanic, and we must profess that we can see no other Scriptural conclusion. One of the principles of the Hussites, as given by the famous Aeneas Sylvius (Pius II.), was this—“*Mendicantium religiones malos daemones invenisse*” (that evil spirits invented the religions of the Mendicants).* It was once common to say that Popery was the masterpiece of Satan, and we are not of those who think that this was a mistake. The present case indeed, if not the identical one, is at least strictly parallel with the predic-

* NEWTON, *On Prophecies*, p. 523.

tion regarding "the man of sin" (2 Thess. ii.), "whose coming is after the working of Satan."

4. There is the *variety of methods* employed, and the *amount* of the "killing" work done.

Now this variety of *method* surely indicates a variety of *result*. It would be unreasonable to plead that the killing by "smoke" in a symbolic scene must amount to the same as killing by "fire." And when we consider that "brimstone" stands in the Apocalypse simply as a symbol of the "infernal," we seem bound in every way to look for a marked distinction both as to *modes* and *results*.

As to the *work* of the "fire," then, we can be at no loss. History presents to us, during the three centuries now surveyed, an amount of actual bodily killing, whether by fire or sword, that will meet a very large demand indeed.

Then as to the "smoke-killing," we have all the action of the Inquisition, and such like, by which Rome's victims were done out of everything, civil or social, that is ever regarded as "life"—everything but bare *existence*. To be deprived of all human rights, down to that of inheriting, or even holding, property—the right of defence or witnessing in law; that is, the right of even attempting to secure one's self against any evil that any one may design; to be so separated from all human kind that the anathema which has fallen on us is to fall equally on any one that would help us even to live; to be imprisoned for life, and that possibly not within four walls, but *between two*—all this seems extremely like to the stifling,

or choking out of life, such as may very significantly be pictured in the "killing by smoke."

And once more, as to the "brimstone." If any party in this world ever meddled with things infernal, by way of alarming others, or aggravating their sufferings—ever invoked the curse of heaven, or devoted to the flames of hell—that party is the Inquisition; or, to speak more properly, that Romish government of which the Inquisition was the most cherished instrument. It may be questioned indeed whether, in all the circle of language, there is any phrase more natural to Roman lips than "*Anathema sit.*" Rome never seems so truly at home as when cursing; she seems to have a strong consciousness that this is her peculiar function, her strength, and her glory—cursing basket and store, body and soul, for time and eternity. But as cursing seldom kills, it is needful to supplement it in the symbolic scene with another element for securing that. And hence we can recognize that, while all was done that could be done to kill by the "brimstone"—while Rome actually did put forth the whole arrogance of her presumption as one authorized to consign to infernal death—still there was the consciousness that something more was wanted, and hence the addition of the smoke, and still more, the fire. There is thus undoubtedly a difference assumed in regard to the *result*, as is plainly the case in regard to the *mode* of the "killing;" but this variety is not incompatible surely with the present style of representation. And supposing that anything so atrocious as Rome's actual killing work had to be depicted; namely, the natural or body killing,

the civil or social killing, and (so far as possible between man and man) the soul killing after death—what fitter imagery could have been derived from the threefold instrumentality of the *smoke*, the *fire*, and the *brimstone*?

And then as to the amount, "the third part of men." Now this, on any interpretation ever suggested—the present one included—is certainly a difficulty. For as "third part" must be taken relatively to some whole, who can show us to a certainty what that whole is? And even were this done, how should we ever gather up the scattered items from any field wide enough to meet the demands of the case, so as to show that we had got an amount fairly represented by "the third part" of the whole? Thus, as far as regards *proof* or *probability*, we feel that our view is not more hardly pressed than any other that could be named, even in this the hardest point of all.

For (1) we may fairly assume the *entire mass* as consisting of one generation of men, and occupying, in the seer's eye, the stage in question; namely, the seat of Roman dominion for those centuries.

(2) The full amount of "killing" work may, we can well imagine, have quite equalled "the third" of ~~such~~ *a mass*. Our difficulty, as just noted, is of course to present a combined view of the items that would constitute such an amount. Let us add, however, one class of cases to which we have not yet made special reference. We have spoken of outlawing and excommunicating. And, surely enough, if these, besides involving the loss of all worldly substance, and giving up the sufferers to merciless law or outrageous lawlessness, drove them at the same time from

home and kindred, and obliged them to hide or wander anywhere in the world—then, in all such cases, there would be done a real “killing” work, according to the fair view of the symbolic scene, when interpreted according to the requirements alike of its own terms, and the analagous expressions in Scripture.

Mark then the immense mass of outlaws to which we are thus introduced, besides those who came at any time under the direct hand of their judges. It is nothing less than the entire multitude of those who, during the whole of that “killing” time, had to fly for their lives. Thus the Waldenses (such of them as had escaped the sword) sought refuge over northern Europe. They even crossed over to England; and the Wycliffites, whom we may regard as their children, had in their turn to fly also. These now came to Bohemia, and various parts of Germany; hence fresh conversions and persecutions, while yet none such had “any assurance of their lives,” so long as the European nations submitted to the unbroken dominion of Rome. Not till that relentless tyranny had given way, and the governments of Europe had begun to say, “Our people shall no longer suffer because of insubjection to this Babylonian usurper”—not till then was there any civil security for the professors of the gospel. There was frequently, of course, a certain amount of individual concealment possible; and there was, as in England, under Richard II., the official shield betwixt the gosseller and the priest. But all this was only exceptional and scanty. The rule was, and the practice too, “Do what Rome bids, or submit to the death,

whether by fire or smoke." An extraordinary state of things truly; and yet such was the condition of Europe from Innocent III. till the Reformation. The boldest princes did not dare—they could not afford—to guarantee the life of their subjects in defiance of the Papal agents. The two Henrys who succeeded Richard might have been as indisposed as he was to shed the blood of their faithful servants; but it was only on such terms that they could maintain their position; and hence, Herod-like, they might be "very sorry," but they had "sworn" to Rome, and John must die. And this continued, we say, till certain German princes proclaimed their independence of the Babylonian yoke, which, as we are constrained to believe, shuts up the period of the hour, day, month, and year. It is true, no doubt, that much "killing" work was done for many a day after that, and of the same sort too. But *the special period* had run its course; and henceforth that work would find its place as an element in other scenes. The full, *unbroken* Babylonian reign, at least, then ended, nor has it as yet returned to the world.

5. In connection with this there remains still one circumstance, and of a very decided-looking character. "*The rest of the men that were not killed with these plagues yet repented not,*" &c. Of course not. Babylon commanded their idolatry, and if they had refused they must have suffered; nor would their own friends have interfered. Hence—and it is only the obverse of the picture—"the men that were not *killed*" (that is, in the wide sense which, it seems, the words must have), all such went on *their evil ways* as long as the dreadful season lasted. The

long night at length gave way to morning, and men could then repent of their idolatries, and cast away the Babylonian chains, without having to be killed for doing so. Gospel professors might at last "sit down under their own vine and fig-tree."

6. There are in the prophetic scene what seem to be *the very definite portions of an extremely definite whole*. Now, whether it would be possible, by a more accurate acquaintance with the history, to give a satisfactory view of these portions we cannot say. We can just see that the actual period, as we have given it, has a very definite commencement with Innocent III., and an equally definite termination in that civil disenthralment which attended the Reformation, the first distinct example of which we find in the noble stand of the Elector Frederick against both Pope and Emperor in defence of Luther. As to intermediate terms, we have a really definite one in the summons of Innocent to Philip Augustus to commence the crusade against the Albigenses, in 1207; and another in the final committing of the Inquisition to the Dominicans, in 1233. This interval, then, *might* be regarded as answering to *the month*, that which succeeded it to *the year*; while the "hour" and the "day" might be found in the short period that preceded it. This we venture to say, however, by way of the merest suggestion—with the least possible design of hazarding, with our present imperfect information, any assertion on the subject.

7. There still remain for illustration one or two points, but all of them so free from difficulty that the most passing notice of them may suffice.

(1) "*Their power is in their mouth*"—not in their teeth, as we should expect from the lion-heads, and as was the case with Daniel's four beasts, but in their mouth, as an organ for breathing out the instruments of destruction. In other words, the real power of these monstrous creatures lies in their *bold and accepted assertion of the right to kill*. The world has long been familiar with the principle that *might is right*. Such was really the ground of all the action of old Babylon, Persia, Macedon, and Rome. These had the *might*, and they called it *right*. New Rome had *no might*, but she made the discovery that she had *the right*; and this *right*, overbearing and incessantly proclaimed, became, under the reign of priestcraft and superstition, a true and terrible *might*. The very breath of her mouth was transformed into the smoke, the fire, and the brimstone.

(2) "*And in their tails.*" Whether, as already admitted to be possible, this refers to the *teachers* of the Babylonish system, or to the secret and insidious agency ever at work in it, the counterpart of such characteristics in the new Rome is too notorious to require illustration.

(3) "*Their tails were like unto serpents having heads, and with them they do hurt.*" Cunning, intelligence, authority, these are the qualities thus strikingly depicted; and what other qualities would anyone think of naming as the most clearly characteristic of Roman dealing in those days? *

* *E.g.*, the instructions of Innocent III. to his legate for the treatment of the Count of Thoulouse are still extant, and "surpass" (says Milman) "*all those found in the annals of diplomacy for ingenuity*, and, it must be said, for *perfidy*." "He is to hide the iron hook of severity in the bait of *feigned gentleness*." When Count Raymond at length surrendered

(4) There was *jacinth in the breastplate*. That is, as we saw under the symbols, there was to be the pretence of heavenly principle in support of infernal practice, and this as an unfailing element in the defensive armour of the horsemen. Now the Roman Church was nothing except in so far as it pretended to be holy and apostolical; and these pretensions sufficed to cover over any amount of the unholy and the false. To gain credit for the *Satanic* it was only needful boldly to assume the *Christian*. The "serving of the devil" was as gross as the world ever saw, and the "stealing of Christ's livery" for the purpose as deliberate a theft as was ever perpetrated. During those centuries Rome, indeed, was sorely beset; nor did she ever think of defence other than her infernal fire and brimstone, combined with the unblushing claim to the divine and heavenly jacinth.

Thus far we have arrived, and may now cast a closing glance at the chief stages of the road.

The *first* was when, in the 5th century, Rome seemed decisively doomed to end, being raised up solely by virtue of the new idea and energy that had laid hold of her, till at last her second dominion was fairly established in the 11th century, and completed in the 12th. Such is the simple history; and our contention is, that we have here a perfect counterpart to the *partial eclipse* under the Fourth Trumpet. The period is long, but it well answers

his realms to the Pope he "was promised mercy," says the papal annalist, "not that it was ever designed to show him mercy, but as a *pious fraud*, suggested to the legate by the Holy Spirit, to give De Montfort time to complete his conquests."—*MASSY, Secret History of Romanism*, p. 144.

to a *third part of the Roman sun's day*; i.e. the entire season of Roman dominion.

During a certain portion of the same period there was proceeding alongside of the strictly Roman action—greatly enfeebled as that then was—a remarkable ecclesiastical development, which, at first really independent of Roman rule, resigned itself in the end entirely to that, and powerfully contributed to its advancement. This portion of history we have given as the counterpart of the *locust* action.

But just as the new Roman power became consolidated it was discovered that its stability was already in danger, from a spirit of reaction and enquiry which had come over the European mind. For the suppressing of this, Rome had to employ the peculiar instrumentality of *Inquisition* and *Crusade*; and these, for three centuries, so far succeeded as to keep the nations under the yoke. Such again is history; and, as for the corresponding prophecy, we point to the *kill, kill, kill*, of the Euphratean horsemen.

Another crisis came, and once more the European world seemed weary of the Roman subjection. Nor did it appear the least likely that Rome would prove equal to the occasion this time; but again the help sprang up, and the *Fourth Power* was once more saved. By new political arrangements, and, above all, by the action of Loyola's extraordinary army, the threatened dissolution was averted, and a new tenure of vigorous life was secured for the old tyranny. The means now used were, in a measure, the same as the old; but, for the most part, they were

singularly different. The *Inquisition* was still employed, and with terrible effect; but greater still was the power of *insinuation*. Such, once more, is *history*—we speak now of the post-Reformation period. But upon this, whether as regards prophecy or fulfilment, we may not enter now.

APPENDIX A (for page 193 above).

THE following from Sharon Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. pp. 308-14, is well worthy of attention, in connection with the facts already stated.

"The *Liber Pastoralis Curae* of Gregory I. is one of the most elaborate schemes to influence and govern the human mind which ingenuity has devised. By means of it he transmitted to a well organized, communicating, and widely disseminated order a series of counsels, the tendency of which was to rule the mass of mankind, by nicely affecting all the springs of human action.

"Vices should sometimes be prudently dissembled, though judged; sometimes openly known, and maturely tolerated; sometimes subtly and secretly examined; sometimes mildly reprehended, and sometimes fiercely reproached. (Pars. 2, c. 10.)

"The third part is a masterpiece of human art. In this the mind of Gregory contemplates all the varieties of human characters and conditions, reviews the various means by which they may be affected, and lays down the rules by which every difference of temper may be bent and swayed to the wishes of the Churchman. It is this part which is peculiarly fitted to throw mankind into chains, because it organizes a system the most sagacious, which shall invisibly govern every individual by appropriate springs. Such a system in the hand of impassive and undeviating virtue would conduce to good (?); but committed to the use of human agents, perpetually misled by selfishness and passions, it must have contributed to fabricate and maintain that resistless despotism which for ages enchained and depraved Europe.

"He lays down rules for the management of the respective sexes, of youth and age, of poor and rich, the cheerful and the sad, the powerful and the subject, the lord and the slave.

"He distinguishes the conduct that should be observed toward the wise and the ignorant, the impudent and the bashful, the obstinate and the pusillanimous, the irritable and the patient,—so going through every conceivable variety of character and condition."

See Greg. *Lib. Past. Cur.*, as above, part 3, pp. 181–225, which the writer regrets not having access to. And if any one has been speculating on the feelings with which Gregory seemed to ignore the Phocas atrocities, he may now better understand the principle on which, as stated by an eminent writer, "Gregory himself relates, in the coolest manner, the earliest murders of Phocas in the preamble to the 11th Book of his Epistles." Dr. Campbell, *Eccles. Hist. Lect.* 26 (on Gregory), vol. ii. pp. 55, *seqq.*

APPENDIX B (for page 248 above).

THE following, from Ranke's *History of the Popes*, vol. i. pp. 20–23, gives a striking view of the Roman Sun, of which we have been treating, from its morning till its noonday.

"There was a principle inherent in the ecclesiastical constitution which opposed itself to a secular influence so widely extended, and this would inevitably make itself felt, should the Church become strong enough to bring it into effectual action. There is also, as it appears to me, an inconsistency, in the fact that the Pope should exercise on all sides the supreme spiritual power, and yet remain himself subjected to the Emperor. The case would have been different had Henry III. really brought about his purpose of exalting himself to be the head of all Christendom; but as he failed in this, there needed but a certain complication of political affairs, and the Pope might have been prevented, by his subordination to the Emperor, from performing the duties imposed on him by his office as common father of the faithful.

"It was under these circumstances Gregory VII. ascended the papal throne. Gregory was a man of bold, prejudiced, and

aspiring mind, obstinate in his adherence to logical consequences, immovable in his purposes, yet skilful and pliant when the object was to parry any well-founded objection. He perceived the end to which things were tending, and amidst the trifling occurrences of every-day life, took note of the vast contingencies preparing for the future. He resolved to free the pontificate from the authority of the empire. Having fixed his thoughts on this object, he soon seized the decisive means for attaining it. The resolution that he caused to be adopted by one of his councils; namely, that no clerical office should in future be conferred by a layman, was equivalent to altering the constitution of the empire in its very essence. This reposed, as we have already said, on the connection between the spiritual and temporal institutions: the bond that held these together was the investiture; to deprive the Emperor of this his ancient right, was to declare a revolution.

"It is obvious that Gregory could not have ventured to think of this measure, much less to put it in practice, had he not been favoured by the convulsions that shook the empire during the minority of Henry IV., and by the frequent insurrections of the German princes and people against that monarch. Among the great vassals he found natural allies. They also felt oppressed by the overwhelming power of the Emperor; they also desired to become free. In a certain point of view, the Pope might be considered one of the magnates of the empire. It is not then surprising that, when the pontiff declared Germany an electoral monarchy—a doctrine tending greatly to augment the power of the princes—these last should offer no opposition to the efforts he made for his own emancipation from the imperial power.

"Even in the contention for the investiture, their interests went hand-in-hand. The Pope was still far from claiming the direct nomination of the bishops; he referred the choice to the chapters, and over these the higher German nobility exercised the most commanding influence; in one word, the Pope had the aristocratic interests on his side.

"But even with these allies, how long and sanguinary were

the conflicts maintained by the Popes before they could bring their enterprise to a fortunate issue! 'From Denmark even to Apulia,' says the hymn in praise of St. Anno; 'from Carlingen to Hungary, have the arms of the empire been turned against its own vitals.' The contention between the spiritual and temporal principles, which had hitherto acted in concert, spread fatal discord through the breadth of Europe. Frequently were the pontiffs driven from their capital, and compelled to witness the ascent of anti-popes, to the apostolic throne.

"At length, however, the task was accomplished. After long centuries of confusion—after other centuries of often doubtful strife, the independence of the Roman see and that of its essential principle was finally attained. In effect, the position of the Popes was at this moment most exalted; the clergy were wholly in their hands. It is worthy of remark that the most firm-minded pontiffs of this period—Gregory VII. for example—were Benedictines. By the introduction of celibacy they converted the whole body of the secular clergy into a kind of monastic order. The universal bishopric now claimed by the Popes bears a certain resemblance to the power of an abbot of Cluny, who was the only abbot of his order; in like manner these pontiffs aspired to be the only bishops of the assembled church. They interfered without scruple in the administration of every diocese, and even compared their legates with the proconsuls of ancient Rome! While this closely-knit body, so compact in itself, yet so widely extended through all lands—influencing all by its large possessions, and controlling every relation of life by its ministry,—was concentrating its mighty force under the obedience of one chief, the temporal powers were crumbling into ruin. Already, in the beginning of the twelfth century, the provost Gerohus ventured to say, 'It will at last come to this, that the golden image of the empire shall be shaken to dust—every great monarchy shall be divided into tetrarchates, and then only will the Church stand free and untrammelled beneath the protection of her crowned high priest.' And this bold prophecy had well-nigh received a literal fulfil-

ment; for, in fact, which was the more powerful in England during the thirteenth century—was it Henry III., or those four and twenty to whom the government was for a certain period confided? In Castile, who were the effective rulers—the king or the *altoshomes*? The power of the Emperor seems to have become superfluous from the moment when Frederick conceded the essential attributes of sovereignty to the princes of the empire. Italy, as well as Germany, was occupied by numerous independent powers; the only self-centred and comprehensive sovereignty was that of the Pope. Thus it came to pass that the independence of the ecclesiastical principle resolved itself into a new kind of monarchy; the politico-religious character that life had everywhere assumed, and the general course of circumstances, all tended to this result. When countries, long lost to the Church, as Spain had been, were regained from Mahometanism—when provinces, like Prussia, hitherto buried in the darkness of Paganism, were brought over to the faith and filled with a Christian population—when even the capitals of the Greek church conformed to the Latin ritual, and when hundreds of thousands poured forth to plant the banner of the Cross on the holy sepulchre—is it not manifest that the crowned priest, whose hand was in all these enterprises, and at whose feet was offered the fealty of the subdued, must have enjoyed unbounded influence and honour? In his name, and under his guidance, the western nations poured themselves forth as one people, and sought to gain possession of the whole world. It cannot awaken surprise that the Pope should exercise unlimited authority in his internal administration, when we remember that a king of England consented to hold his kingdom as a fief from the Pontiff's hand, that a king of Aragon resigned his realms to the apostle Peter, and that Naples beheld her throne conferred by the same all-commanding power on a family wholly foreign to her soil. Extraordinary aspect of those times—which yet no one has hitherto placed before us in all its completeness and truth!”

INDEX.

- ARTIUS**, the Wormwood Star, 97-100; immediate consequences of his fall, 100-104.
- Africa**, Hail falls on, 77-80; separation from Rome, 88, 89.
- Agobard of Lyons**, character of, 327
- Alaric**, his course directed towards the West by the policy of the Eastern Court, 70; his first invasion of Italy, 70; his second, 72; would fain have been the friend and protector of Rome, 74; his sack of Rome, 75.
- Albigenses**, very formidable to Rome in 12th century, 349; persecution of, 351; condition of in 14th century, 366.
- Alexander III.**, his triumph over Frederick I., 344; forwards the preparation for killing, 345.
- Alexander IV.**, his relation to St. Louis, 357; his action against Genoa, 364.
- Amos**, importance to us of ch. vii., 26, 27, 35, 47.
- Angels, The Four**, what they probably represent, 382, *sqq.*; 388, 389.
- Apostolical Origin of Churches**, how regarded, 141.
- Attila**, not the Star of Fifth Trumpet, 42, 43; his invasion of the West, 81.
- Augustine**, a sentence of on Canonical writings, how twisted by Gratian, 343, n.
- BABYLON**, the New, 330, 341.
- Bayle**, Estimate of Gregory I. by, 186, n.
- Beast**, the ten-horned, 1-6.
- Bernard, St.**, his great influence, how employed, 326.
- Beziers**, terrible massacre at, 352.
- Bishops, Roman**, their standing early in 5th century, 129; Western, extraordinary position of in 9th century, 266.
- Blood, Sea becoming**, what it signifies, 38, 39.
- Bohemia**, the once flourishing condition of, 375.
- Bohemians**, crusade against, 373.
- Boniface (Count)**, his behaviour leads to the loss of Africa, 77, 99.
- Boniface (missionary)**, promotes the Papal claims in Germany, 206.
- Boniface, Pope (607)**, declared *Ecumenical* Bishop by Phocas, and why, 195.

- Brimstone, symbol and fulfilment, 335, 337, 391.
- Brunechild, the "Frankish Jezebel," treatment of by Gregory I., 184-186.
- Bryce, Dr. J., View of Papacy as the counterpart of the old despotism, 205; on the Donation of Constantine, 208; on the False Decretals, 212; on the Concordat of Worms, 240; on the two great Mendicant orders, 387.
- CANONISTS with schoolmen, their part in the Roman work, 384.
- Celestine I., his presumption in the case of Nestorius, 149.
- Chapters, the Three, story of, 161, *sq.*
- Charlemagne, services to Papacy, 199; his true relation to the Roman power, 202-205; saying of in regard to Papacy, 205, n.; his death (814), great significance of, 268, *sqq.*
- Charles the Bald, his relation to the Bishops, 296-298.
- Christians, True, not hurt by locusts, 325, *sqq.*
- Church lands in 11th century, 231.
- Claude of Turin, the Protestant of 9th century, uninjured, 326.
- Clay, the, in Nebuchadnezzar's Image, 8, 9.
- Clergy, higher, locust and lordly character of in 9th century, 284-289.
- Conrad, Inquisitor (1230) his killing work, 355.
- Constance, killing work of the Council of, 372.
- Constantine, Donation of, great influence of the Forgery, 208-211; Palace of, becomes the Pope's, 131; a reported saying of, how treated in False Decretals, 343, n.
- Crowe, view of Church in 9th century, 289.
- Crusaders, with Dominicans, a formidable army, 364.
- Crusades, Eastern and Western, same spirit in, 347; against Albigenses, 351.
- DAY of Roman Rule, third part of, 125.
- Decretals, Roman, origin of, 140; the false, great influence of, 211-213; employed by Hildebrand, 244.
- Dominicans, the van of the killing army, 352.
- EARTH, third part of, 28, 29; third part of burnt up, 88, 89.
- Ecclesiastical standing of cities determined by their civil, 135-137.
- Eclipse, importance of symbol, 50; under Fourth Trumpet, only one event answering to, 52, 53; Roman, end of, 241.
- Emperor, German, theoretical relation of to Pope, 220, n.; Roman, worship of, 117.
- Empire, Western, the true locality of first four Trumpets, 53, 54.
- Episcopal power gives way to Papal, 318, *sqq.*
- Euphrates, what it symbolizes, 330, 341.

- Europe, Western, miserable state of in 9th and 10th centuries, 104-111.
- Ezekiel, figurative and literal style combined in, 33.
- FIGURATIVE style frequently combined with literal, 33
- Fire, 335, 337, 396.
- Fountains and rivers, symbolical of what? 44-47; embitterment of, and its proportions, 111-113.
- France, South of, its condition in 12th century, 349.
- Francis of Assisa, blasphemies in regard to, 385, 386.
- Frederick I., his conflict with Alexander III., 344.
- Frederick II., character of, enmity of Rome towards, persecution by him in interest of Rome, 357-359; his sons and grandson, Papal treatment of, 360.
- GELASIUS, Pope (492), advance in Roman claims under, 157, 158.
- Gibbon, view of the degradation and uprising of Rome at end of 6th century, 165, *sqq.*; on the two Roman Sovereignities, 241; on Innocent III., 353, 354.
- Gottschalk, persecution of, how to be regarded, 326.
- Grass, symbol of ordinary population, 25, 27; green, something additional implied, 27; and trees, classes of society, 86, 89, 254; green, all burnt up, 87, 243.
- Greek power in Italy broken by the Lombard, 121.
- Gregory I., Pope, energy of, 178, 179; his power fitly represented by eclipsed Roman sun, 169-171; heals the *Three Chapter* schism, and restores the West to its Roman allegiance, 171-174; his dealings with Maurice and John, 177, 178; relation to Phocas, and sympathy with his massacres, 181-184; stupendous hypocrisy of, 189; his flattery and Peter-worship, 187-192; his spirit intensely Roman, 178, 190; transforms old English idol-worship into new Roman, 180; compared with Leo I., 192, 193; his *Liber pastoralis curae*, character of, 400, *sq.*
- Gregory II. (715-731), "a god upon earth," 196; raises Rome from its degradation, and founds temporal dominion of Papacy, 196-198.
- Gregory VII. See Hildebrand.
- Gregory IX. commits the Inquisition to the Dominicans (1233), 363; his action against Lombardy, 362.
- HADRIANOPLE, battle of, compared with Cannae, 67.
- Hail, as a symbol, points to political downfall, 23, 24, 83; first fall of, 64; last fall of, 84, 85; duration of, 82.
- Hallam, on Concordat of Worms, 240; view of clergy in 9th century, 284; on miserable character of 9th century, 308, 309; on noon-day of Papal dominion, 242; on the preparation for this from Hildebrand to Innocent III., 342.

- Henry III., his reformation of Papacy, 225, 226; what it issued in, 344.
- Henry IV., treatment of by Hildebrand at Canossa, 236.
- Hildebrand, new Roman dominion set up by, 4; commences the work of Roman independence, 228; labours for clerical celibacy and abolition of investiture, 230, *sqq.*; threatens Philip I. of France with Interdict and deposition, 233; summons Henry IV. to Rome, 233; excommunicates and deposes him, 234; sovereignty of, 238-246; claims various European kingdoms as fiefs of Rome, 247, 248.
- Hildebrandism not Christianity, 244, *sqq.*
- Hobbes (Leviathan) on the Papacy, 195, n.
- Hodgkin, on the origin, character, and importance of the new Roman dominion, 130, 131.
- Hoffman, plea of for Charlemagne as continuator of Roman Empire examined, 203, *sqq.*
- Horns, ten, what they symbolize, 3.
- Horsemen, symbolical of superhuman agency, 332; multitude of accounted for, 333; armour of, offensive and defensive, 338, 339.
- Horses, not literal, 334; tails of, unhappy reference to Turkish Pashas, 340; what may be their meaning, *ibid.*; mouths and tails of, 396.
- Hugh Capet, his application to the Pope, 321.
- Huss, John, his martyrdom, 373.
- Hussites, apparent extermination of, 375.
- IMPERIAL dignity, Roman, significance of the fall of, 117, 118.
- Innocent I., Pope (402-417), the truly Roman audacity of, 141; originates the Petro-Papal theory, 145, 146.
- Innocent III., a real Nebuchadnezzar, 348; his mandate to Philip Augustus, 351; *tribunal* of Inquisition set up by (1215), 353; his epistles, *ibid.*
- Innocent IV., enmity of against Frederick II., 359, 361; extends the Inquisition, 362; his violent action against Venice, 363.
- Inquisition, The, principle of established (1184), 346; Tribunal of (1215), 353; made permanent at Thoulouse (1229), *ib.*; committed to Dominicans (1233), *ib.*
- Iron in Nebuchadnezzar's Image, 7-9.
- JACINTH, of what the symbol, 338, 339; how fulfilled, 397.
- Janus on Papal Power, &c., quoted, 158, 160, 198, 210, 212, 215, 242, 248, 342, 343, 370, 371, 386.
- Jews, persecution of, 369, 377.
- John, Pope (532), assumes the title of *Pontifex Romanus*, and grounds his entire precedence upon it, 161.
- КНИЖ, Dr., inadequate view of the great Roman Revolution, 125.

- Killing work under Sixth Trumpet, 335-337; Papal principle regarding, 343; preparation for, 341, *sq.*, 381; in 13th century, 350, *sqq.*; in 14th century, 366, *sqq.*; by civil death, 371; in 15th century, 372, *sqq.*; means of, 390, 391; the period and divisions of, 395.
- Kissing Pope's foot, whence derived, 117, 209.
- Knights of the Sword, their doings in Esthonia in 13th century, 356; Teutonic, their killing work in Prussia, *ib.*
- Leo I., Pope (440-461), his influence with Attila, 129; importance of for new Roman dominion, 130; may be considered the Founder of Papal Monarchy, 149-151; action of in regard to Council of Chalcedon, 153; his connection with Decree of Valentinian III., 151, 152; estimates of his character, 129, 130, 151, 155; compared with Gregory I., 192, 193.
- Leo IV. (847-855) puts himself before the Emperor, 214.
- Locusts in Rev. ix. not a promiscuous multitude, 257, 301; crowned, 285; locust period, duration of, 313, *sqq.*
- Lombardy, victims of Inquisition in, 15th century, 376.
- Lombards won over to Roman Communion by Gregory I., 170; monarchy of destroyed by Charlemagne, 199, *sq.*
- Louis I., Emperor, darkening of sun under, 273, *sqq.*
- Louis, St., his employment of the Inquisition, 357.
- Lucius III., principle of Inquisition established by (1184), 346.
- MABLY, Abbé de, view of Carolingian times, 278-280.
- Machiavelli, on the Papal position in 6th century, 179.
- Mahomet, his claims compared with the Petro-Papal, 143, 199.
- Maimbourg, on state of Rome at end of 6th century, 167, n.
- Majorian, his merits, the occasion of fresh bitterness, 106.
- Massey, Dr. Dawson, on Gregory's "Morals," 188.
- Mendicant orders, their part in the Roman work, 385.
- Merivale, on the spiritual heirship to the secular Roman power, 131; on the results of the separation of East and West, 129.
- Michelet, on character of 9th century, 310.
- Milman, on cunning of Innocent III., 396.
- Montfort, Simon de, his crusading work, 352.
- Months, five, view of, 259-262.
- Moon, entire reference of to government, 126; under new Roman dominion, 242.
- Mountain, symbol of national power, 36, 37; burning, the Vandal power under Genseric, 91-96.
- NEANDER, on absorption of German Church into the Roman, 206.

- New Christians in Spain, persecution of, 378.
- Newton, Bishop, on the "extinguishing" of Roman Sun, 122.
- Nicolas I. (858-867) and the False Decretals, 215-219; pushes Roman supremacy towards absolute monarchy, 216; Emperor Louis holds his bridle, *ib.*
- Niebuhr, on Aetius and Boniface, 99.
- Noonday of Papal dominion, 242.
- OSTROGOTHS, force their way within the Empire, 67, 68.
- Otho III., his design of restoring the old Roman dominion, 221, 222.
- PAPACY, debasement of at end of 9th century, 219, *sqq.*
- Papalism of 11th century, alleged necessity of it examined, 245, 246.
- Pepin, grant of territory to the Pope, 199.
- Peter, fable of his supremacy, with its results, 142-144.
- Phocas, massacres perpetrated by, 181, 183.
- Planck, view of episcopal action in 9th century, 292, *sqq.*
- Plagues, the three, 335, 390.
- Pontifex Romanus*, when the Pope became, 161.
- Pope, the "heir of the Roman Caesars," 209, *sq.*; temporal power of, Gibbon's account of its rise, 168.
- Prayer and its result, 16, 17.
- Psalm lxxx., combination of figurative and literal in, 33.
- RANKE, on devotion of Pepin to the Papal cause, 198, 199; on the new Roman dominion, 401-404.
- Rhodogast, his invasion of Italy, importance of, 71.
- Ricimer, wormwood spirit of, 107-109.
- Rivers (see Fountains), third part of, 112, 113.
- Robert of France, his submission to Pope, 323.
- Robert Guiscard, made tributary Duke of Apulia by Nicolas II., 229; vassal and protector of Hildebrand, 240.
- Robertson, Canon, heavy charges of against Pope Leo I., 154, 155; Eulogium of on Gregory I. examined, 188, *sqq.*
- Roman Church, double Apostolical origin claimed for, 141; citizenship, great value of, 86, 89; power, unity of at different epochs, 123, 124; dominion, new, Appendix B.
- Rome, ecclesiastical (366), 127; fall of Western Empire (476), 118; origin of appeals to from foreign churches, on what ground, 138-140; worshipped as a goddess, 118; the *City's* sovereign position transferred to its Church, 132-137; the Rome of Jupiter becomes the Rome of Peter, 190; value of references to throughout New Testament, 58.
- Rudolf, crown sent to by Hildebrand, 237.
- SARACENS, supposed reference to in Fifth Trumpet examined, 328.

- Sardica, Council of (347), little worth and great influence of, 147.
- Schlegel, on the peculiar deification of *Rome*, 118.
- Schmidt, on rapacity of higher clergy in 9th century, 286.
- Schroeckh, on same, 284, *sqq.*
- Schoolmen. See Canonists.
- Scorpion stings, illustration of, 292, *sqq.*
- Sea, literal use of the word common in Scripture, 32-36; third part of it becoming blood, 96.
- Senators, Roman, to what they may correspond, 87, 88.
- Ships destroyed, significance of, 39; third part of, 96.
- Silence in heaven, significance of, 15.
- Sicilian Vespers, origin of, 360.
- Siricius, Pope (385), the first that published Papal *Decretals*, 140.
- Sismondi, on character and position of clergy in Carlovingian period, 304; on results of sacerdotal power, 310-312; on the Crusades in France, 351, 352.
- Smoke, 335, 337-339, 390, 391.
- Spain, victims of Inquisition in, 379, 380.
- Star, symbol of ruler, 41; more specifically under Third Trumpet, 97-100; *fallen*, under Fifth Trumpet, 268, *sqq.*
- Stars, under new Roman dominion, 242.
- Stephen II., Pope (752), extraordinary personation of Peter by, 198.
- Stephen IV., Emperor Louis (816) prostrates himself before, 214.
- Sun and air darkened, 272.
- Sun, Moon, Stars, symbolical of social rank, 48, 49; sun, third part of the, 50, 124, 125; sun of Rome smitten and eclipsed, 116; sun, Imperial and Roman, distinguished, 122.
- Symmachus, Pope (498-514), Ennodius invents in his favour Papal Infallibility, 159.
- THEODORIC, the Gothic kingdom providentially hindered from being permanently established by, 119, 120.
- Third part, how used in Scripture, 28; under Sixth Trumpet, 331; men killed, 392, *sq.* See Earth, Rivers, Sea, Sun, Tree.
- Tree, symbol of prominent persons, 24; more specifically, 87.
- Trumpets, importance of regarding as scenes, 19-21; first four, reasons for applying to the Western Roman Empire, 51-58; first, reasons for extending to the fall of Rome (476), 84-86; fifth, general historical counterpart of, 265-267.
- Turks, the, spared, that Hæasites might be killed, 375.
- Turner, Sharon, on Gregory's Pastorals, 400, 401.
- VALENTINIAN III, final division of Roman Empire under, 63; his decree in favour of the Pope, 151, 152.
- Vials, light from on the Trumpets, 55-57.

- Visigoths, admitted within the Empire, 66.
- Vigilius (537-555), his behaviour in the matter of "the Three Chapters" very injurious to Roman Church, 161-164.
- Verona, Council of (1184), 346.
- WADDINGTON, his view of the real Western Empire after Charlemagne, 241; on Crusades against Christians, 361.
- Waldenses, Crusade against, 376, 388.
- Waldo, Peter, persecution of, 345.
- Women, hair of, meaning of symbol, 257; fulfilment of same, 304, *sqq.*
- Wycliffites, persecution of, 372.
- ZACHARY, Pope, declares Pepin to be king, 198.
- Zosimus, Pope (418), his fabrication of decrees, and insolent treatment of the African bishops, 146-148.
- Zisca, leads the Hussites, 373.



